# EXTRACTS FROM LIVY

## PART III



H. LEE-WARNER

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# EXTRACTS FROM LIVY

EDITED

*WITH ENGLISH NOTES AND MAPS*

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PART III

*THE MACEDONIAN WAR*

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*In this edition the original Notes have been revised, with occasional addition and compression. The Map has been re-drawn, with more names inserted. The Introduction is left unaltered. At the end of the book a few sentences, founded on idioms contained in this Selection, have been added for translation.*

*T. W. G.*

*November*, 1896.

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# INTRODUCTION.

The empire of Alexander the Great had reduced the East under the influence of Hellenic sway and Hellenic taste. Though divided, it had now lasted one hundred and forty-four years in the hands of his successors. Whilst Alexander was winning his battles in Asia, the duel for the leadership of Italy was being fought by the Romans and Samnites. We have seen that the year 266 B.C. found them masters of all Italy. In two years more the course of events made it necessary for them to pass from their hitherto merely Italian policy and develope a navy, which was sure to lead to a policy of more direct aggression. The baptism of fire through which Hannibal made the fertile provinces of Italy pass in the Second Punic War, was only a prelude to the entry of Rome into the contest for the leadership of the world. In spreading her power eastward she found herself opposed not by one united empire, but by the scattered legions which Alexander had bequeathed to the marshals of his empire. Regum viribus reges oppugnare was an easy policy for a republic which had successfully wrestled in the Second Punic War with the genius of Hannibal and the resources of Carthage. In the First Macedonian War, Philip, then (213–205 B.C.) King of Macedonia, had acted with such laxness that the two powers can hardly be considered to have matched their forces at all; the Second had been but a flash in the pan. Eighteen years had since elapsed, during which Philip had shewn the greatest calmness and perseverance in building up his kingdom and preparing it for that conflict which sooner or later was sure to be necessary. If he had displayed in his first war half the perseverance which he then shewed in preparing for this struggle which he was not destined to carry through, he would not have died (179 B.C.) despairing and broken-hearted. As it was, he left behind him vast resources and a kingdom on which all the patriots of Greece looked with eager expectation as the representative of their nationality; he left behind him too a son Perseus, who, equally imperious, equally unscrupulous, was more steady and persevering than his father. All the countries east of the Adriatic, with the exception of the Attalid kingdom

of Eumenes, looked upon this monarch as the champion of Greece. He himself was a son-in-law of Antiochus of Syria; his sister had married Prusias, the King of Bithynia. The Rhodians were well affected towards him and secret goodwill might easily blossom out into open alliance, and so secure for his service the finest fleet in the Aegean. All Greece expected the speedy downfall of the Romans. Accustomed to the sudden falls of their own states, they naturally expected that the Romans had reached a point of glory beyond which the gods would hardly let them advance. And so it came to pass that they were most insolent at a time when the power of Rome was most able to crush them, just as most exasperation against the dominion of the French was manifested in Germany at a time when the French were most able and ready to revenge it. In vain did men like Eumenes of Pergamus, Charops of Epirus, Kallikrates of the Achaean league, warn their countrymen of their weakness. Every one was now agreed that the most detestable Macedonian hegemony was better than a government imposed by foreigners, however disinterested, which the Romans were not. The two nationalities were antagonistic; the feuds were smouldering; any spark might kindle the open flame. So much had Perseus' subtle plan brought about; he had placed all Greece in a state of eager expectance; he had amassed vast treasures; he had organised great forces. But when the decisive moment arrived for action, he failed; he shrank back from what he himself had taken in hand; he wanted the genius to let slip his forces, to use his means, to relax his grasp of his golden pieces. So it was that when in 172 Eumenes came to the senate with a list of his grievances against the national Greek party, and the senate suddenly resolved on war, Perseus had not the spirit to forget himself and assume the leadership of Greece. In 171 the Roman legions landed in Greece, and under Publius Licinius Crassus invaded Thessaly. Though Perseus was alone, he began the war with immense resources. Independently of his allies, he had a force of 40,000 foot. It is therefore not surprising that he should have led off with two victories, and does not argue any very great want of political foresight that he thought he could bring the great republic to terms. The iron rule of the Romans never to make terms except with the vanquished was not yet known to be applied to the states outside Italy. When therefore the Romans rejected all compromise and resolutely continued the war, the king was amazed. He had made his plans for a defensive war: and the Romans were waiting for him to assume the offensive.

The prospect of the outlay necessary for such an effort was too much for him. He waited near his base and left the Romans to storm the cities of Haliartus and Coronea, whose only offence was that they were loyal. So the campaign closed for the year 171 B.C., and the elections of the following year sent a very different man, Aulus Hostilius, to the command of their army. For a year the legionaries had to submit to the enforcement of stern discipline by a man of no great mark in the military world. The abuses in the army were corrected as far as could be done by a general who was constantly urging precept without example. Whole nations and cities were subjected to the grossest outrages to enrich the commander, whilst the common soldiers were punished severely for the least breach of discipline. Incompetence had been succeeded by selfishness; the man was still wanting to carry out the great republic's work. Eumenes and his Greek and Asiatic allies might well begin to think that Spartan harmosts and Macedonian marshals were better than Roman consuls, so long as neither possessed the gentleness of a Flamininus or the moral purity of a Fabricius. The political success of Rome in the East had been based on the general belief in her incorruptibility; when that failed, a corrupt Greek government might well be preferred by Greeks. That was not too great a strain on Greek patriotism.

The third year of the war had now come, and the Roman burgesses this time chose an enterprising man, who was evidently no great officer. Q. Marcius Philippus found the army in good condition, clamouring for some achievement. His march across Olympus by the pass of Lapathus was only successful because Perseus was so inert. What cared the King of Macedonia for Olympus so long as his money-bags were in Pydna or Pella? The result was that a Roman army occupied Olympus without a battle, and Zeus was taken captive by Jupiter. From that moment the Greek gods deserted Perseus and joined themselves to the Roman legions. Marcius Philippus had placed his army in a position where, in spite of Perseus, they must die or fight. With the mountains at their back they could not expect to draw enough provisions for long through the pass of Tempe. They must move forward; and now that the time for action had obviously come, the Roman burgess-electors were sufficiently roused to send the right man. As always happened in the time of danger, all political interests gave way to military necessities. In that marvellously elastic constitution, the change from

empire to republic was simply effected by the change of ministry at the beginning of the year. As soon as it was known that the choice of the burgesses had fallen on Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the son of the martyr of Cannae, it was obvious that a strong government was contemplated. Seldom was it that a man of so humble means was elected consul a second time. Seldom was it, it may be added, that a man of so humble means did not make himself the richer for his first consulship. But he was one of the few Romans of that age to whom one could not offer money, and, although he was a strict general of the old school, he was a man of such culture that his march through Greece was a tour of inspection of works of art.

What he was, however, and what he did, will best appear in the course of the following pages. If after his victory he abandoned the humane principles which had governed the earlier part of his life, he will not be the last person who has doubted in the weakness of old age the enthusiastic theories of his more hopeful manhood, and contradicted in action the less biassed judgment of a strong youth. The selfish hurry with which old age, not content to wait, tries to reap all the laurels of one victory in a short life is well known. Hence he acted cruelly, and in crushing Greece crushed what he loved best in Rome. A strong united Greece would have been the best guarantee for Rome of a higher development such as Paulus would have wished most. But the ancient world, it has been well said, knew nothing of a balance of power, and so every nation which attained internal unity strove to crush or weaken its neighbour. Otherwise the union of Greece under the northern kingdom of Macedonia might very well have been tried, as in our days, with the assistance of the railway and the telegraph, we have seen the practical Piedmontese infuse new vigour into the dukedom of Tuscany and the kingdom of Naples.



MACEDONIA
EORDÆA
EDESSA
Ludias R.
Pella
Borborus L.
Axius R.
Thessalonica
Berrhœa
Haliacmon R.
Bermius M.
Pydna
PIERIA
THERMAICUS SINUS
Cambunii M.
Dium
Olympus M.
9754 ft
Pythium
Doliche
Azorus
Ascuris L.
Phila
Tempe
Peneus R.
PERRHÆBIA
Ossa M.
6407 ft
Nessonis L.
LARISSA
THESSALIA
Bœbeis L.
Pelion M.
4340 ft
Pheræ
Pagasæ
Demetrias
Thebæ Phthiotides
Pharsalus
PAGASETICUS SINUS
Pindus M.
Othrys M.
N

# THE MACEDONIAN WAR.

B.C. 170—168.

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## I. THE THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR.

B.C. 170—169.

### 1. *Q. Marcius Philippus succeeds Aulus Hostilius.*

Audito successoris adventu, cum arma, viros, equos cum cura inspexisset, ornato exercitu obviam venienti consuli processit. Paucis post diebus consul contionem apud milites habuit. Orsus a parricidio Persei perpetrato in fratrem, cogitato in parentem, adiecit post scelere partum regnum, veneficia, caedes, latrocinio nefando petitum Eumenen, iniurias in populum Romanum, direptiones sociarum urbium contra foedus: ea omnia quam diis quoque invisa essent, sensurum in exitu rerum suarum. Favere enim pietati fideique deos, per quae populus Romanus ad tantum fastigii venerit. Vires deinde populi Romani, iam terrarum orbem conplectentis, cum viribus Macedoniae, exercitus cum exercitibus conparavit. Quanto maiores Philippi Antiochique opes non maioribus copiis fractas esse?

### 2. *Marcius a better mountaineer than officer.*

Placuit non ultra morando in Thessalia tempus terere, sed movere extemplo castra atque pergere inde in Mace-

doniam; et praetorem dare operam, ut eodem tempore classis quoque invehatur hostium litoribus. Praetore dimisso, consul, menstruum frumentum iusso milite secum ferre, decumo post die, quam exercitum acceperat, castra movit, et unius diei progressus iter, convocatis itinerum ducibus, cum exponere in consilio iussisset, qua quisque ducturus esset, summotis iis, quam viam potissimum peteret, rettulit ad consilium. Aliis per Pythoum placebat via, aliis per Cambunios montes, qua priore anno duxerat Hostilius consul, aliis praeter Ascuridem paludem. Restabat aliquantum viae communis; itaque in id tempus, quo prope divortium itinerum castra posituri erant, deliberatio eius rei differtur. In Perrhaebiam inde ducit, et inter Azorum et Dolichen stativa habuit ad consulendum rursus, quam potissimum capesseret viam.

3. *In three days he gains the top of the pass.*

Praemitti tamen IV milia armatorum ad loca opportuna praeoccupanda placuit, quis praepositi sunt M. Claudius, Q. Marcius, consulis filius. Confestim et universae copiae sequebantur. Ceterum adeo ardua et aspera et confragosa via fuit, ut praemissi expediti biduo quindecim milium passuum aegre itinere confecto castra posuerint quieverintque; Dierum, quem cepere, locum appellant. Inde postero die VII milia progressi, tumulo haud procul hostium castris capto, nuntium ad consulem remittunt, perventum ad hostem esse; loco se tuto et ad omnia opportuno consedisse; ut, quantum extendere iter posset, consequeretur. Sollicito consuli et propter itineris difficultatem, quod ingressus erat, et eorum vicem, quos paucos inter media praesidia hostium praemiserat, nuntius ad Ascuridem paludem occurrit. Addita igitur et ipsi fiducia est, coniunctisque copiis, castra tumulo, qui tenebatur,

qua aptissimum ad loci naturam erat, sunt adclinata. Non hostium modo castra, quae paullo plus mille passuum aberant, sed omnis regio ad Dium et Philam oraque maris, late patente ex tam alto iugo prospectu, oculis subicitur.

4. *But finds the way down more difficult.*

Inenarrabilis labor descendentibus cum ruina iumentorum sarcinarumque. Progressis vixdum IV milia passuum nihil optabilius esse quam redire, qua venerant, si possent. Hostilem prope tumultum agmini elephanti praebebant, qui, ubi ad invia venerant, deiectis rectoribus, cum horrendo stridore pavorem ingentem. equis maxime, incutiebant, donec traducendi eos ratio inita est. Per proclive sumpto fastigio, longi duo validi asseres ex inferiore parte in terra defigebantur, distantes inter se paullo plus, quam quanta beluae latitudo est. In eos transverso incumbente tigno, asses tricenos longi pedes, ut pons esset, iniungebantur, humusque insuper iniciebatur. Modico deinde infra intervallo similis alter pons, dein tertius, et plures ex ordine, qua rupes abscisae erant, fiebant. Solido procedebat elephantus in pontem; cuius priusquam in extremum procederet, succisis asseribus conlapsus pons usque ad alterius initium pontis prolabi eum leniter cogebat. Alii elephanti pedibus insistentes, alii clunibus subsidentes, prolabebantur. Ubi planities altera pontis excepisset eos, rursus simili ruina inferioris pontis deferebantur, donec ad aequiorem vallem perventum est. Paullo plus VII milia eo die Romani processerunt. Minimum pedibus itineris confectum; plerumque provolventes se simul cum armis aliisque oneribus, cum omni genere vexationis, processerunt; adeo ut ne dux quidem et auctor itineris infitiaretur, parva manu deleri omnem exercitum potuisse. Nocte ad

modicam planitiem pervenerunt, nec, quam infestus is locus esset, saeptus undique, circumspiciendi spatium fuit vix tandem ex insperato stabilem ad insistendum nanctis locum.

### 5. *The incapacity of Perseus gives Marcius success.*

Lavanti regi dicitur nuntiatum, hostes adesse. Quo nuntio cum pavidus exiluisset e solio, victum se sine proelio clamitans proripuit; et subinde per alia atque alia pavida consilia et imperia trepidans, duos ex amicis, Pellam alterum, ut, quae ad Phacum pecunia deposita erat, in mare projiceret, Thessalonicam alterum qui navalia incenderet misit; Hippiam quique cum eo erant ex praesidiis revocat, omnesque aditus aperit bello. Ipse, ab Dio auratis statuis omnibus raptis, ne praeda hosti essent, incolas eius loci demigrare Pydnam cogit, et, quae temeritas consulis videri potuisset, quod eo processisset, unde invito hoste regredi nequiret, eam non inconsultam audaciam fecit. Duos enim saltus, per quos inde evadere possent, habebant Romani, unum per Tempe in Thessaliam, alterum in Macedoniam praeter Dium, quae utraque regiis tenebantur praesidiis. Itaque si dux intrepidus x dies primam speciem adpropinquantis terroris sustinuisset, neque receptus Romanis per Tempe in Thessaliam neque commeatibus pervehendis ea patuisset iter.

### 6. *The pass of Tempe.*

Sunt enim Tempe saltus, etiamsi non bello fiat infestus, transitu difficilis. Nam praeter angustias per quinque milia, qua exiguum iumento onusto iter et rupes utrimque ita abscisae sunt, ut despici vix sine vertigine quadam simul oculorum animique possit, terret et sonitus et altitudo per mediam vallem fluentis Penei amnis. Hic locus, tam suapte

natura infestus, per quattuor distantia loca praesidiis regiis fuit insessus.

7. *A detachment under the consular Popilius invests Heracleum.*

Popilius, priusquam armatos muris admoveret, misit, qui magistratibus principibusque suaderent, fidem clementiamque Romanorum quam vim experiri mallent. Nihil ea consilia moverunt, quia ignes ad Elpeum ex regis castris apparebant. Tum terra marique (et classis adpulsa ab litore stabat) simul armis, simul operibus machinisque oppugnari coepti. Iuvenes etiam quidam Romani, ludicro circensi ad usum belli verso, partem humillimam muri ceperunt. Mos erat tum, nondum hac effusione inducta, bestiis omnium gentium circum conplendi, varia spectaculorum conquirere genera; nam semel quadrigis, semel desultore misso, vix unius horae tempus utrumque curriculum complebat. Inter cetera sexageni ferme iuvenes, interdum plures apparatioribus ludis, armati inducebantur. Horum inductio ex parte simulacrum decurrentis exercitus erat, ex parte elegantioris quam militaris artis propiorque gladiatorium armorum usum. Cum alios decursu edidissent motus, quadrato agmine facto, scutis super capita densatis, stantibus primis, secundis summissioribus, tertiis magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nixis, fastigatam, sicut tecta aedificiorum sunt, testudinem faciebant. Hinc quinquaginta ferme pedum spatio distantes duo armati procurrebant, comminatique inter se, ab ima in summam testudinem per densata scuta cum evasissent, nunc velut propugnantes per oras extremae testudinis, nunc in media inter se concurrentes, haud secus quam stabili solo persultabant. Huic testudo similis humillimae parti muri admota. Cum armati super stantes subissent, propugnatoribus muri fastigio altitudinis aequabantur; depulsisque iis, in urbem duorum

signorum milites transcenderunt. Id tantum dissimile fuit, quod et in fronte extremi et ex lateribus soli non habebant super capita elata scuta, ne nudarent corpora, sed praetenta pugnantium more. Ita nec ipsos tela ex muro missa subeuntes laeserunt, et testudini iniecta imbris in modum lubrico fastigio innoxia ad imum labebantur. Et consul, capto iam Heracleo, castra eo promovit, tamquam Dium atque inde, summoto rege, in Pieriam etiam progressurus.

### 8. *The results of the campaign of* 169 B.C.

Litterae deinde recitatae Q. Marci consulis sunt, quemadmodum, saltu superato, in Macedoniam transisset; ibi et ex aliis locis commeatus prospectos in hiemem habere, et ab Epirotis xx milia modium tritici, x hordei sumpsisse, ut pro eo frumento pecunia Romae legatis eorum curaretur. Vestimenta militibus ab Roma mittenda esse; equis cc ferme opus esse, maxime Numidis, nec sibi in his locis ullam copiam esse. Senatus consultum, ut ea omnia ex litteris consulis fierent, factum est. C. Sulpicius praetor sex milia togarum, xxx tunicarum, equos cc portanda in Macedoniam praebendaque arbitratu consulis locavit, et legatis Epirotarum pecuniam pro frumento solvit.

## II. A FEW TRAITS OF KING PERSEUS.

B.C. 169.

### 1. *How he received the news of Marcius' forced march.*

Perseus, tandem e pavore eo, quo attonitus fuerat, recepto animo, mallet imperiis suis non obtemperatum esse, cum trepidans gazam in mare deici Pellae, Thessalonicae navalia iusserat incendi. Andronicus, Thessalonicam missus,

traxerat tempus, id ipsum, quod accidit, paenitentiae relinquens locum. Incautior Nicias Pellae proiciendo pecuniae partem, quae fuerat ad Phacum; sed in re emendabili visus est lapsus esse, quod per urinatores omne ferme extractum est. Tantusque pudor regi pavoris eius fuit, ut urinatores clam interfici iusserit, deinde Andronicum quoque et Nician, ne quis tam dementis imperii conscius existeret.

2. *How he approached the Illyrian king.*

Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Perseus illud iam inchoatum perficere, quia inpensa pecuniae facienda erat, non inducebat in animum, ut Gentium Illyriorum regem sibi adiungeret; sed postquam intrasse saltum Romanos et adesse discrimen ultimum belli animadvertit, non ultra differendum ratus, cum per Hippiam legatum ccc argenti talenta pactus esset, ita ut obsides ultro citroque darentur, legatos arcessit, ad ea perficienda.

3. *How he argued with the Rhodians.*

Quibus ita mandatum, ut, iure iurando obsidibusque et pecunia accepta, tum demum Rhodum proficiscerentur. Duorum simul regum nomine incitari Rhodios ad bellum Romanum posse. Adiunctam civitatem, penes quam unam tum rei navalis gloria esset, nec terra nec mari spem relicturam Romanis.

4. *How he courted the alliance of his brother kings.*

Eodem tempore ad Eumenen et ad Antiochum communia mandata, quae subicere condicio rerum poterat: Natura inimica inter se esse liberam civitatem et regem. Singulos populum Romanum adgredi et, quod indignius sit, regum viribus reges oppugnare. Attalo adiutore pa-

trem suum oppressum; Eumene adiuvante et quadam ex parte etiam Philippo, patre suo, Antiochum oppugnatum. In se nunc et Eumenen et Prusiam armatos esse. Si Macedoniae regnum sublatum foret, proxumam Asiam esse, quam iam ex parte, sub specie liberandi civitates, suam fecerint; deinde Syriam. Iam Prusiam Eumeni honore praeferri, iam Antiochum victorem praemio belli Aegypto arceri. Haec cogitantem providere iubebat, ut aut ad pacem secum faciendam conpelleret Romanos aut perseverantes in bello iniusto communes duceret omnium regum hostes.

### 5. *How he lost them all.*

Ubi ad pecuniae mentionem ventum erat, ibi haesitabat, et utique alteram tanti nominis regibus turpem ac sordidam, et danti et magis accipienti, mercedem esse aiebat; in spem Romanae pacis non recusare impensam, sed eam pecuniam perfecta re daturum; interea Samothracae in templo depositurum. Ea insula cum ipsius dicionis esset, videre Eumenes nihil interesse, ibi an Pellae pecunia esset; id agere, ut partem aliquam praesentem ferret. Ita, nequicquam inter se captati, nihil praeter infamiam movere.

### 6. *And the Gauls besides.*

Sed et ante Genti regis parata societas et tum Gallorum, effusorum per Illyricum, ingens oblatum auxilium avaritia dimissum est. Veniebant x milia equitum, par numerus peditum, et ipsorum iungentium cursum equis et in vicem prolapsorum equitum vacuos capientium ad pugnam equos. Hi pacti erant, eques denos praesentes aureos, pedes quinos, mille dux eorum. Venientibus his Perseus ab Elpeo ex castris profectus obviam cum dimidia copiarum parte denuntiare per vicos urbesque, quae viae propinquae

sunt, coepit, ut commeatus expedirent, frumenti, vini, pecorum ut copia esset. Ipse equos phalerasque et sagula donum principibus ferre et parvum auri, quod inter paucos divideret, multitudinem credens trahi spe posse. Ad Almanam urbem pervenit et in ripa fluminis Axii posuit castra. Circa Desudabam in Maedica exercitus Gallorum consederat, mercedem pactam opperiens. Eo mittit Antigonum, ex purpuratis unum, qui iuberet multitudinem Gallorum ad Bylazora (Paeoniae is locus est) castra movere, principes ad se venire frequentes. LXXV milia ab Axio flumine et castris regis aberant. Haec mandata ad eos cum pertulisset Antigonus, adiecissetque, per quantam omnium praeparatam cura regis copiam ituri forent, quibusque muneribus principes advenientes vestis, argenti equorumque excepturus rex esset, de his quidem se coram cognituros respondent, illud, quod praesens depigissent, interrogant, ecquid aurum, quod in singulos pedites equitesque dividendum esset, secum advexisset? Cum ad id nihil responderetur, Clondicus, regulus eorum, 'abi renuntia ergo,' inquit, regi, nisi aurum obsidesque accepissent, nusquam inde Gallos longius vestigium moturos.

## III. L. AEMILIUS PAULUS.

### B.C. 169.

#### 1. *The right man in the right place at last.*

Iam in exitu annus erat, et propter Macedonici maxime belli curam in sermonibus homines habebant, quos in annum consules ad finiendum tandem id bellum crearent. Omnia ut maturius agerentur, belli Macedonici stimulabat cura. Itaque designatos extemplo sortiri placuit provincias,

ut, cum, utri Macedonia consuli cuique praetori classis evenisset, sciretur, ut iam inde cogitarent pararentque, quae bello usui forent, senatumque consulerent, si qua de re consulto opus esset. Latinas, ubi magistratum inissent, quod per religiones possent, primo quoque tempore fieri placuit, ne quid consulem, cui eundum in Macedoniam esset, teneret. His decretis, consulibus Italia et Macedonia, praetoribus praeter duas iurisdictiones in urbe classis et Hispania et Sicilia et Sardinia provinciae nominatae sunt. Consulum Aemilio Macedonia, Licinio Italia evenit.

## 2. *The consul's speech to the people.*

*a.* 'I go to place myself at the centre of the position.'

'Animadvertisse videor, Quirites, maiorem mihi sortito Macedoniam provinciam gratulationem factam, quam cum aut consul sum consalutatus, aut quo die magistratum inii; neque id ob aliam causam, quam quia bello in Macedonia, quod diu trahitur, existimastis dignum maiestate populi Romani exitum per me inponi posse. Deos quoque huic favisse sorti spero, eosdemque in rebus gerendis adfuturos esse. Haec partim ominari, partim sperare possum; illud adfirmare pro certo audeo, me omni ope adnisurum esse, ne frustra vos hanc spem de me conceperitis. Quae ad bellum opus sunt, et senatus decrevit et, quoniam extemplo proficisci placet neque ego in mora sum, C. Licinius collega, vir egregius, aeque enixe parabit, ac si ipse id bellum gesturus esset.

*b.* 'I will tell you the whole truth; do not you mind the talk of the cafés and the cookshops.'

'Vos, quae scripsero senatui aut vobis, ea vera esse credatis rogo, neve rumores credulitate vestra alatis, quorum auctor nemo extabit. Nam nunc quidem, nemo

tam famae contemptor est, cuius non debilitari animus possit. In omnibus circulis atque etiam, si dis placet, in conviviis sunt, qui exercitus in Macedoniam ducant; ubi castra locanda sint, sciant, quae loca praesidiis occupanda, quando aut quo saltu intranda Macedonia, ubi horrea ponenda, qua terra, mari subvehantur, commeatus, quando cum hoste manus conserendae, quando quiesse sit melius. Nec, quid faciendum sit, modo statuunt, sed, quidquid aliter, quam ipsi censuere, factum est, consulem veluti dicta die accusant.

*c.* 'I do not deprecate criticism nor shrink from responsibility; if any wish to criticise, I have a place for them on my staff. Let them come where they can criticise fairly.'

'Haec magna impedimenta res gerentibus sunt. Neque enim omnes tam firmi et constantis animi contra adversum rumorem esse possunt, quam Q. Fabius fuit, qui suum imperium minui per vanitatem populi maluit, quam secunda fama male rem publicam gerere. Non sum is, qui non existumem admonendos duces esse; immo eum, qui de sua unius sententia omnia gerat, superbum iudico magis quam sapientem. Quid ergo est? Primum a prudentibus et proprie rei militaris peritis et usu doctis monendi imperatores sunt; deinde ab iis, qui intersunt gerendis rebus, qui loca, qui hostem, qui temporum opportunitatem vident, qui in eodem velut navigio participes sunt periculi. Itaque si quis est, qui, quod e re publica sit, suadere se mihi in eo bello, quod gesturus sum, posse confidat, is ne deneget operam rei publicae, et in Macedoniam mecum veniat. Nave, equo, tabernaculo, viatico etiam a me iuvabitur. Si quem id facere piget et otium urbanum militiae laboribus praeoptat, e terra ne gubernaverit. Sermonum satis ipsa praebet urbs; iis loquacitatem suam contineat; nos castrensibus consiliis contentos futuros esse sciat.'

## IV. PAULUS' MILITARY REFORMS.

B.C. 169.

### 1. *'From the dry rock he bids the waters flow.'*

Dux novus, ubi ad exercitum progressus milites aquae inopia laborare sensit, sequi se putearios ad mare, quod minus ccc passus aberat, iussit et in litore alios alibi modicis intervallis fodere. Montes ingentis altitudinis spem faciebant, eo magis quia nullos apertos evergerent rivos, occultos contineri latices, quorum venae in mare permanantes undae miscerentur. Vix diducta summa arena erat, cum scaturiges turbidae primo et tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam, velut deum dono, coeperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque res duci famae et auctoritatis apud milites adiecit.

### 2. *He reduces confusion to order.*

*a.* The word of command.

Primum, ut ordine ac sine tumultu omnia in agmine ad nutum imperiumque ducis fierent, providit. Ubi omnibus simul pronuntiaretur, quod fieret, neque clare neque omnes exaudire; incerto imperio accepto, alios, ab se adicientes, plus eo, quod imperatum sit, alios minus facere; clamores deinde dissonos oriri omnibus locis, et prius hostes quam ipsos, quid paretur, scire. Placere igitur, tribunum militum primo pilo legionis secretum edere imperium, illum et dein singulos proximo cuique in ordine centurioni dicere, quid opus facto sit, sive a primis signis ad novissimum agmen sive ab extremis ad primos perferundum imperium sit.

*b.* Sentry duty.

Vigiles etiam novo more scutum in vigiliam ferre vetuit; non enim in pugnam vigilem ire, ut armis utatur, sed ad vigilandum, ut, cum senserit hostium adventum, recipiat se excitetque ad arma alios. Scuto prae se erecto stare galeatos; deinde, ubi fessi sint, innixos pilo, capite super marginem scuti posito, sopitos stare, ut fulgentibus armis procul conspici ab hoste possint, ipsi nihil provideant.

*c.* Pickets.

Stationum quoque morem mutavit. Armati omnes, et frenatis equis equites, diem totum perstabant. Id cum aestivis diebus, urente adsiduo sole, fieret, tot horarum aestu et languore ipsos equosque fessos integri saepe adorti hostes vel pauci plures vexabant. Itaque ex matutina statione ad meridiem decedi, et in postmeridianam succedere alios iussit; ita numquam fatigatos recens hostis adgredi poterat.

3. *He explains the respective duties of commanders and commanded.*

Haec cum ita fieri placere, contione advocata, pronuntiasset, adiecit urbanae contioni convenientem orationem: Unum imperatorem in exercitu providere et consulere, quid agendum sit, debere, nunc per se, nunc cum iis, quos advocarit in consilium; qui non sint advocati, eos nec palam nec secreto iactare consilia sua. Militem haec tria curare debere, corpus ut quam validissimum et pernicissimum habeat, arma apta, cibum paratum ad subita imperia; cetera scire de se dis immortalibus et imperatori suo curae esse. In quo exercitu milites consultent, imperator autem

rumoribus volgi circumagatur, ibi nihil salutare esse. Se, quod sit officium imperatoris, provisurum, ut bene gerendae rei occasionem iis praebeat; illos nihil, quo die futurum sit, quaerere debere, sed ubi datum signum sit, tum militarem navare operam.

### 4. *The effect on the army.*

Ab his praeceptis contionem dimisit, volgo etiam veteranis fatentibus, se illo primum die tamquam tirones, quid agendum esset in re militari, didicisse. Non sermonibus tantum his, cum quanto adsensu audissent verba consulis, ostenderunt, sed rerum praesens effectus erat. Neminem totis mox castris quietum videres; acuere alii gladios, alii galeas bucculasque, alii loricas tergere, alii aptare corpori arma experirique sub his membrorum agilitatem, quatere alii pila, alii micare gladiis mucronemque intueri, ut facile, qui cerneret, sciret, ubi primum conserendi manum cum hoste data occasio esset, aut victoria egregia aut morte memorabili finituros bellum.

## V. THE CAMPAIGN.

### B.C. 168.

### 1. *March towards Pydna, whither Perseus had been driven by a détour led by P. Nasica.*

Tempus anni post circumactum solstitium erat; hora diei iam ad meridiem vergebat; iter multo pulvere et incalescente sole factum erat. Lassitudo et sitis iam sentiebatur, et meridie aestum magis adcensurum utrumque adparebat. Statuit sic adfectos recenti atque integro hosti non obicere. Sed tantus ardor in animis ad dimicandum utcumque erat, ut consuli non minore arte ad suos eludendos quam ad

hostes opus esset. Nondum omnibus instructis, instabat tribunis militum, ut maturarent instruere; circumibat ipse ordines; animos militum hortando in pugnam accendebat. Ibi primo alacres signum poscebant; deinde, quantum incresceret aestus, et voltus minus vigentes et voces segniores erant, et quidam incumbentes scutis nixique pilis stabant. Tum iam aperte primis ordinibus inperat, metarentur frontem castrorum et inpedimenta constituerent.

### 2. *Nasica too eager to fight.*

Quod ubi fieri milites sensere, alii non moleste ferre, alii gaudere palam, quod fessos viae labore flagrantissimo aestu non coegisset pugnare. Legati circa imperatorem ducesque externi erant, inter quos et Attalus, omnes adprobantes, cum pugnaturum consulem credebant; neque enim ne his quidem cunctationem aperuerat suam. Tunc mutatione consilii subita cum alii silerent, Nasica unus ex omnibus ausus est monere consulem, ne hostem, ludificatum priores imperatores, fugiendo certamen manibus emitteret. Vereri, ne, si nocte abeat, sequendus maximo labore ac periculo in intima Macedoniae sit, aestasque, sicut prioribus ducibus, per calles saltusque Macedonicorum montium vagando circumagatur. Se magnopere suadere, dum in campo patenti hostem habeat, adgrediatur nec oblatam occasionem vincendi amittat. Consul, nihil offensus libera admonitione tam clari adulescentis, 'Et ego' inquit 'animum istum habui, Nasica, quem tu nunc habes, et, quem ego nunc habeo, tu habebis. Multis belli casibus didici, quando pugnandum, quando abstinendum pugna sit. Non operae est stanti nunc in acie docere, quibus de causis hodie quiesse melius sit. Rationes alias reposcito; nunc auctoritate veteris imperatoris contentus eris.' Conticuit adulescens; haud

dubie videre aliqua impedimenta pugnae consulem, quae sibi non apparerent.

3. *Caution of Paulus, whilst the camp is being made.*

Paulus, postquam metata castra impedimentaque conlocata animadvertit, ex postrema acie triarios primos subducit, deinde principes, stantibus in prima acie hastatis, si quid hostis moveret, postremo hastatos, ab dextro primum cornu singulorum paulatim signorum milites subtrahens. Ita pedites, equitibus cum levi armatura ante aciem hosti oppositis, sine tumultu abducti; nec ante, quam prima frons valli ac fossa perducta est, ex statione equites revocati sunt. Rex quoque, cum sine detrectatione paratus pugnare eo die fuisset, contentus, quod per hostem moram fuisse pugnae scirent, et ipse in castra copias reduxit.

4. *The moon in her course fights against Perseus.*

Castris permunitis, C. Sulpicius Gallus, tribunus militum secundae legionis, qui praetor superiore anno fuerat, consulis permissu ad contionem militibus vocatis, pronuntiavit, nocte proxima, ne quis id pro portento acciperet, ab hora secunda usque ad quartam horam noctis lunam defecturam esse. Id, quia naturali ordine statis temporibus fiat, et sciri ante et praedici posse. Itaque quemadmodum, quia certi solis lunaeque et ortus et occasus sint, nunc pleno orbe, nunc senescentem exiguo cornu fulgere lunam non mirarentur, ita ne obscurari quidem, cum condatur umbra terrae, trahere in prodigium debere. Nocte, quam pridie nonas Septembres insecuta est dies, edita hora luna cum defecisset, Romanis militibus Galli sapientia prope divina videri; Macedonas ut triste prodigium, occasum regni perniciemque gentis portendens, movit, nec aliter vates. Clamor ululatusque in castris Macedonum fuit, donec luna in suam lucem emersit.

### 5. *Both sides eager for the encounter.*

Postero die (nam tantus utrique ardor exercitui ad concurrendum fuerat, ut et regem et consulem suorum quidam, quod sine proelio discessum esset, accusarent) regi prompta defensio erat, non eo solum, quod hostis prior, aperte pugnam detrectans, in castra copias reduxisset, sed etiam quod eo loco signa constituisset, quo phalanx, quam inutilem vel mediocris iniquitas loci efficeret, promoveri non posset. Consul ad id, quod pridie praetermisisse pugnandi occasionem videbatur et locum dedisse hosti, si nocte abire vellet, tunc quoque per speciem immolandi terere videbatur tempus. Cum luce prima signo proposito pugnae exeundum in aciem fuisset, tertia demum hora, sacrificio rite perpetrato, ad consilium vocavit, atque ibi, quod rei gerendae tempus esset, loquendo et intempestive consultando videbatur quibusdam extrahere. Tum contra hujusmodi sermones talem consul orationem habuit.

### 6. *Speech of Paulus.*

*a.* 'I will condescend to explain why I have thus delayed the fight.'

'P. Nasica, egregius adulescens, ex omnibus unus, quibus hesterno die pugnari placuit, denudavit mihi suum consilium; idem postea, ita ut transisse in sententiam meam videri posset, tacuit. Quibusdam aliis absentem carpere imperatorem quam praesentem monere melius visum est. Et tibi, P. Nasica, et quicumque idem, quod tu, occultius senserunt, non gravabor reddere dilatae pugnae rationem. Nam tantum abest, ut me hesternae quietis paeniteat, ut servatum a me exercitum eo consilio credam. In qua me opinione sine causa esse ne quis vestrum credat, recogno-

scat, age dum, mecum, si videtur, quam multa pro hoste et adversus nos fuerint.

*b.* 'The enemy excel us in numbers; we could not fight and be fortifying our camp at the same time. Yesterday we should have fought like vagabonds; to-day we fight for our camp, as for our native country.'

'Iam omnium primum, quantum numero nos praestent, neminem vestrum nec ante ignorasse et hesterno die, explicatam intuentes aciem, animadvertisse certum habeo. Ex hac nostra paucitate quarta pars militum praesidio inpedimentis relicta erat; nec ignavissimum quemque relinqui ad custodiam sarcinarum scitis. Sed fuerimus omnes; parvum hoc tandem esse credimus, quod ex his castris, in quibus hac nocte mansimus, exituri in aciem hodierno aut summum crastino die, si ita videbitur, diis bene iuvantibus, sumus? Nihilne interest, utrum militem, quem neque viae labor hodie neque operis fatigaverit, requietum, integrum in tentorio suo arma capere iubeas atque in aciem plenum virium, vigentem et corpore et animo educas, an longo itinere fatigatum et opere fessum, madentem sudore, ardentibus siti faucibus, ore atque oculis repletis pulvere, torrente meridiano sole, hosti obicias recenti, requieto, qui nulla re ante consumtas vires ad proelium adferat? Quis, pro deum fidem, ita comparatus, vel iners atque imbellis, fortissimum virum non vicerit? Quid, quod hostes per summum otium instruxerant aciem, praeparaverant animos, stabant conpositi suis quisque ordinibus, nobis tunc repente trepidandum in acie instruenda erat et inconpositis concurrendum? At, hercule, aciem quidem inconditam inordinatamque habuissemus; castra munita, provisam aquationem, tutum ad eam iter praesidiis inpositis, explorata circa omnia, an nihil nostri habentes praeter nudum campum, in quo pugnaremus? Maiores vestri castra munita

portum ad omnes casus exercitus ducebant esse, unde ad pugnam exirent, quo iactati tempestate pugnae receptum haberent. Ideo, cum munimentis ea saepsissent, praesidio quoque valido firmabant, quod, qui castris exutus erat, etiamsi pugnando acie vicisset, pro victo haberetur. Castra sunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium. Quam multi exercitus, quibus minus prospera pugnae fortuna fuit, intra vallum conpulsi, tempore suo, interdum momento post, eruptione facta victorem hostem pepulerunt? Patria altera est militaris haec sedes, vallumque pro moenibus et tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt. Sine ulla sede vagi dimicassemus; ut quo victores nos reciperemus?

*c.* 'Nor was the enemy likely to have given us the slip.'

'His difficultatibus et impedimentis pugnae illud opponitur: Quid, si hostis hac interposita nocte abisset, quantum rursus sequendo eo penitus in ultimam Macedoniam exhauriendum laboris erat? Ego autem, neque mansurum eum neque in aciem copias educturum fuisse, certum habeo, si cedere hinc statuisset. Quanto enim facilius abire fuit, cum procul abessemus, quam nunc, cum in cervicibus sumus nec fallere nos interdiu aut nocte abeundo potest? Quid autem est nobis optatius quam ut, quorum castra, praealta fluminis ripa tuta, vallo insuper saepta ac crebris turribus, oppugnare adorti sumus, eos, relictis munimentis, agmine effuso abeuntes in patentibus campis ab tergo adoriamur? Hae dilatae pugnae ex hesterno die in hodiernum causae fuerunt. Pugnare enim et ipsi mihi placet et ideo, quia per Elpeum amnem saepta ad hostem via erat, alio saltu, deiectis hostium praesidiis, novom iter aperui; neque prius, quam debellavero, absistam.'

7. *The engagement is finally brought on by accident.*

Post hanc orationem silentium fuit, partim traductis in sententiam eius, partim verentibus nequicquam offendere in eo, quod, utcumque praetermissum, revocari non posset. Ac ne illo ipso quidem die aut consuli aut regi pugnare placebat, regi, quod nec fessos, ut pridie, ex via neque trepidantes in acie instruenda et vixdum compositos adgressurus erat, consuli, quod in novis castris non ligna, non pabulum convectum erat, ad quae petenda ex propinquis agris magna pars militum e castris exierat. Neutro imperatorum volente, fortuna, quae plus consiliis humanis pollet, contraxit certamen. Flumen erat haud magnum propius hostium castris, ex quo et Macedones et Romani aquabantur, praesidiis ex utraque ripa positis, ut id facere tuto possent. Duae cohortes a parte Romanorum erant, Marrucina et Peligna; duae turmae Samnitium equitum, quibus praeerat M. Sergius Silus legatus; et aliud pro castris stativum erat praesidium sub C. Cluvio legato, tres cohortes, Firmana, Vestina, Cremonensis; duae turmae equitum Placentina et Aesernina. Cum otium ad flumen esset, neutris lacessentibus, hora circiter nona iumentum e manibus curantium elapsum in ulteriorem ripam effugit. Quod cum per aquam, ferme genus tenus altam, tres milites sequerentur, Thraces duo id iumentum ex medio alveo in suam ripam traherent, altero eorum occiso receptoque iumento, ad stationem suorum se recipiebant. Octingentorum Thracum praesidium in hostium ripa erat. Ex his pauci primo, aegre passi popularem in suo conspectu caesum, ad persequendos interfectores fluvium transgressi sunt, dein plures, postremo omnes.

# VI. THE BATTLE OF PYDNA.

B.C. 168.

### 1. *Preliminary skirmishes.*

Movebat imperii maiestas, gloria viri, ante omnia aetas, quod maior sexaginta annis iuvenum munia in parte praecipua laboris periculique capessebat. Intervallum, quod inter cetratos et phalanges erat, inplevit legio atque aciem hostium interrupit. A tergo cetrati erant, frontem adversus clipeatos habebat; chalcaspides appellabantur. Secundam legionem L. Albinus consularis ducere adversus leucaspidem phalangem iussus; ea media acies hostium fuit. In dextrum cornu, unde circa fluvium commissum proelium erat, elephantos inducit et alas sociorum; et hinc primum fuga Macedonum est orta. Nam sicut pleraque nova commenta mortalium in verbis vim habent, experiendo, cum agi, non, quemadmodum agatur, edisseri oportet, sine ullo effectu evanescunt, ita tum elephanti in acie nomen tantum sine usu fuerunt. Elephantorum impetum subsecuti sunt socii nominis Latini pepuleruntque laevom cornu.

### 2. *The phalanx dies fighting.*

In medio secunda legio inmissa dissipavit phalangem; neque ulla evidentior causa victoriae fuit, quam quod multa passim proelia erant, quae fluctuantem turbarunt primo, deinde disiecerunt phalangem, cuius confertae et intentis horrentes hastis intolerabiles vires sunt; si carptim adgrediendo circumagere inmobilem longitudine et gravitate hastam cogas, confusa strue inplicantur: si vero aut ab latere aut ab tergo aliquid tumultus increpuit, ruinae modo tur-

bantur. Sicut tum adversus catervatim incurrentes Romanos et interrupta multifariam acie obviam ire cogebantur, et Romani, quacumque data intervalla essent, insinuabant ordines suos. Qui si universa acie in frontem adversus instructam phalangem concurrissent, quod Pelignis, principio pugnae incaute congressis adversus cetratos evenit, induissent se hastis nec confertam aciem sustinuissent.

### 3. *The king and his cavalry flee.*

Ceterum sicut peditum passim caedes fiebant, nisi qui abiectis armis fugerunt, sic equitatus prope integer pugna excessit. Princeps fugae rex ipse erat. Iam a Pydna cum sacris alis equitum Pellam petebat; confestim eos Cotys sequebatur Odrysarumque equitatus. Ceterae quoque Macedonum alae integris abibant ordinibus, quia interiecta peditum acies, cuius caedes victores tenebat, inmemores fecerat sequendi equites. Diu phalanx a fronte, a lateribus, ab tergo caesa est; postremo, qui ex hostium manibus elapsi erant, inermes ad mare fugientes, quidam aquam etiam ingressi, manus ad eos, qui in classe erant, tendentes suppliciter vitam orabant; et cum scaphas concurrere undique ab navibus cernerent, ad excipiendos sese venire rati, ut caperent potius quam occiderent, longius in aquam, quidam etiam natantes, progressi sunt. Sed cum hostiliter e scaphis caederentur, retro, qui poterant, nando repetentes terram, in aliam foediorem pestem incidebant. Elephanti enim, ab rectoribus ad litus acti, exeuntes obterebant elidebantque. Facile convenit, ab Romanis numquam una acie tantum Macedonum interfectum. Caesa enim ad viginti milia hominum sunt; ad VI milia, qui Pydnam ex acie perfugerant, vivi in potestatem pervenerunt, et vagi ex fuga V milia hominum capta. Ex victoribus ceciderunt non plus centum et eorum multo maior pars Peligni; volnerati ali-

quanto plures sunt. Quod si maturius pugnari coeptum esset, ut satis diei victoribus ad persequendum superesset, deletae omnes copiae forent; nunc imminens nox et fugientes texit et Romanis pigritiem ad sequendum locis ignotis fecit.

### 4. *The news reaches Rome.*

Victoriae nuntii, Q. Fabius et L. Lentulus et Q. Metellus, quanta potuit adhiberi festinatio, celeriter Romam cum venissent, praeceptam tamen eius rei laetitiam invenerunt. Quarto post die, quam cum rege est pugnatum, cum in circo ludi fierent, murmur repente populi tota spectacula pervasit, pugnatum in Macedonia et devictum regem esse. Dein fremitus increvit; postremo clamor plaususque, velut certo nuntio victoriae allato, est exortus. Mirari magistratus et quaerere auctorem repentinae laetitiae. Qui postquam nullus erat, evanuit quidem tanquam certae rei gaudium; omen tamen laetum insidebat animis. Quod postquam veris nuntiis Fabii Lentulique et Metelli adventu firmatum est, cum victoria ipsa, tum augurio animorum suorum laetabantur. Et alia traditur circensis turbae non minus similis veri laetitia. Ante diem quintum decimum K. Octobres, ludorum Romanorum secundo die, C. Licinio consuli, ad quadrigas mittendas escendenti, tabellarius, qui se ex Macedonia venire diceret, laureatas litteras reddidisse dicitur. Quadrigis missis, consul currum conscendit, et cum per circum reveheretur ad foros publicos, laureatas tabellas populo ostendit. Quibus conspectis, repente inmemor spectaculi populus in medium decurrit. Eo senatum consul vocavit, recitatisque tabellis, ex auctoritate patrum pro foris publicis denuntiavit populo, L. Aemilium collegam signis conlatis cum rege Perseo pugnasse; Macedonum exercitum caesum fusumque; regem cum paucis fugisse;

civitates omnes Macedoniae in dicionem populi Romani venisse. His auditis, clamor cum ingenti plausu ortus; ludis relictis, domus magna pars hominum ad coniuges liberosque laetum nuntium portabant. Tertius decimus dies erat ab eo, quo in Macedonia pugnatum est.

### 5. *Perseus a prisoner.*

Pullo amictu cum filio Perseus ingressus est castra, nullo suorum alio comite, quam qui socius calamitatis miserabiliorem eum faceret. Progredi prae turba occurrentium ad spectaculum non poterat, donec a consule lictores missi sunt, qui summoto iter ad praetorium facerent. Consurrexit consul et, iussis sedere aliis progressusque paulum, introeunti regi dextram porrexit, summittentemque se ad pedes sustulit, nec attingere genua passus, introductum in tabernaculum adversus advocatos in consilium considere iussit. Prima percontatio fuit, qua subactus iniuria contra populum Romanum bellum tam infesto animo suscepisset, quo se regnumque suum ad ultimum discrimen adduceret? Cum, responsum expectantibus cunctis, terram intuens diu tacitus fleret, rursum consul: 'Si iuvenis regnum accepisses, minus equidem mirarer, ignorasse te, quam gravis aut amicus aut inimicus esset populus Romanus; nunc vero, cum et bello patris tui, quod nobiscum gessit, interfuisses et pacis postea, quam cum summa fide adversus eum coluimus, meminisses, quod fuit consilium, quorum et vim in bello et fidem in pace expertus esses, cum iis tibi bellum esse quam pacem malle?' Nec interrogatus nec accusatus cum responderet: 'Utcumque tamen haec, sive errore humano seu casu seu necessitate, inciderunt, bonum animum habe; multorum regum et populorum casibus cognita populi Romani clementia non modo spem tibi, sed prope certam fiduciam salutis praebet.' Haec Graeco sermone

Persei; Latine deinde suis 'Exemplum insigne cernitis' inquit 'mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc praecipue dico, iuvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbe ac violenter consulere decet nec praesenti credere fortunae, cum, quid vesper ferat, incertum sit. Is demum vir erit, cuius animum neque prospera flatu suo efferent nec adversa infringent.' Consilio dimisso, tuendi cura regis Q. Aelio mandatur. Eo die et invitatus ad consulem Perseus et alius omnis ei honos habitus est, qui haberi in tali fortuna poterat.

# THE MACEDONIAN WAR.

## B.C. 170.

### I. THE THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR. B.C. 170—169.

l. 1. **successoris.** Q. Marcius Philippus, who had been consul seventeen years before, when he had given his name to a glen in Liguria where he was disgracefully defeated. His appointment now was owing to his having stayed with Perseus in Macedonia, and consequently knowing the country.

**adventu.** Embarking at Brindisi he had arrived *via* Corfu at Actium, whence he made his way through Ambracia to Palaepharsalus in Thessaly.

l. 2. **cum.** In some instances an ablative of manner, not qualified by an adjective or genitive dependent on it, may be used with or without 'cum.' Thus we can say 'clamore' or 'cum clamore'; 'silentio' or 'cum silentio.' But as a rule 'cum' should be used when the ablative is unqualified. 'Cum dolore,' 'cum fide,' 'cum cura,' are better than 'dolore,' 'fide,' 'cura,' respectively. On the other hand 'vi,' 'iure,' 'iniuria,' 'vitio,' and others are used quite adverbially. Latin Grammar[1], § 151.

**ornato.** Aulus Hostilius (the subject of 'processit') had received the army in such a bad condition from Crassus, that he was obliged to employ his whole year of generalship in mere military reorganization. 'In full marching condition.'

l. 4. **parricidio.** Used of any unnatural murder. Perseus had induced his father Philip to poison his elder brother Demetrius as being too Roman in his tendencies. Philip dying soon afterwards, Livy hints by the words 'mors peropportuna Perseo' that he too died of foul play.

l. 5. **post** only governs 'scelere partum regnum.' Latin uses a past participle from a desire to avoid abstract nouns. Translate 'after his criminal assumption of the crown.' Compare 'Prusiam regem suspectum Romanis receptus Hannibal faciebat,' 'the reception of Hannibal made Prusias an object of suspicion' (Liv. xxxix. 51). Cf. l. 185.

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[1] The Grammar referred to is Dr. Kennedy's Public School Latin Grammar.

l. 6. **Eumenen.** Son of Attalus, and king of Pergamus. The attempt at assassinating the king at Delphi was the pretext which the Romans gave for the war.

l. 8. **ea omnia.** Translate 'He said he would find one day by the issue of his fortune how odious all these dealings of his were in the sight of the gods also (as well as in theirs).' The clause is governed by the idea of saying in 'adiecit.'

l. 10. **pietati.** 'Dutiful feeling,' as shown towards one's family; 'fidei' as shown towards 'socias urbes.' 'For the gods are ever favourable to duteous feeling and good faith.'

**quae.** 'Pietas' and 'fides' are both non-sentient things, and of the same gender: hence 'quae' might have been 'quas.' In cases where the genders vary, the attribute is almost always neuter. Compare 'Ira et avaritia imperio potentiora erant,' and 'fortuna et maiestas, quae si paria essent,' &c.

l. 11. **fastigii.** 'Such a pitch of success.'

**iam . . . conplectentis.** 'Which already compassed the round world.'

l. 13. **Quanto.** 'How far greater, he asked, was the strength of Philip and Antiochus, and yet it was broken by no greater power than the Romans now could show.'

l. 14. **Philippi.** Late king of Macedonia.

**Antiochi.** Late king of Syria, who had been defeated by the army of Scipio Asiaticus in the battle of Magnesia, B.C. 190, twenty years before.

**fractas esse.** Questions in a speech reported obliquely, which are practically statements and do not require an answer, commonly have the infinitive mood. This is really an exclamation, or statement equivalent to 'multo maiores' &c. Caesar generally throws such questions into the subjunctive, like those which really expect an answer. In instances like 'Quis hoc sibi persuaderet?' in Caesar, 'persuaderet' stands obliquely, not for 'persuadet,' but for 'persuadeat.'

l. 16. **placuit.** 'It was resolved not to make a longer stay in Thessaly, and there to waste time, but presently to break up camp and remove forthwith into Macedonia.' Marcius Philippus' rashness in Liguria has been already noted. As accident saved him then, so Perseus' incapacity saves him now.

l. 19. **invehatur.** With dat. 'blockade,' with acc. 'attack.' Notice the present for 'inveheretur,' a poetic variation from the law of sequence.

**Praetore.** G. Marcius, who had come from Chalcis to attend the council.

l. 20. **menstruum.** I have introduced in the text 'frumentum.' 'A month's provisions.' But Seneca says 'diurnum accipere' of slaves.

Madvig thinks that 'frumentum' has fallen out of the text from the similarity of the sound to 'menstruum.' But why should not Livy have omitted it for the same reasons which Madvig imagines to have affected the copyist?

l. 21. **die . . . consilium.** The whole sentence is an extreme illustration of the way in which Livy piles his sentences with ablative absolutes and participial or adverbial clauses. Break it up in translation. 'The praetor was let go, and ten days after taking over the command of the army the consul changed his quarters. The soldiers had been ordered to bring with them, &c. The consul had not proceeded more than one day's journey,' &c. In translating such sentences as these into Latin again, the practised eye at once picks out 'consul' as the principal subject of one long Latin sentence. In Froude's History of England, vol. vii. p. 153, we have the following sentences: 'Elizabeth was at times restive under the false part she had to play; and she was bringing herself to face the necessity of more decisive action. On the 3rd of November a tournament was held at Greenwich, in which Lord Robert and Lord Hunsdon held the lists. The French ambassador was in Elizabeth's box. She asked him if there were news from Scotland.' In Latin this would be all one sentence.

'profectus,' inserted in some texts, seems tautological. 'He started ten days after receiving conduct of the army and removed the camp.' Quintilian remarks on Livy's *μακρολογία* in expressions like this, as 'retro domum unde venerant abierunt.'

l. 24. **summotis.** The 'iis' seems to point to a change of case: hence some read 'convocatos duces,' governed by iussisset. 'He caused them to go aside and consulted the council as to which road he should make for in preference.'

l. 25. **Pythoum**, or Pythium, see map.

l. 26. **duxerat.** Here of the general, before of the guide.

l. 28. **communis.** 'Common to all three routes.' The second route lay most to the West, and would have carried them away from their fleet; the third was occupied by the Macedonian troops; the first was a compromise between the two.

l. 33. **Praemitti.** The army had halted between Azorus and Doliche. In order to reach Lapathus they would have to march SE.

l. 36. **Ceterum.** 'For the rest' like *ἀλλά*. 'But the way was so steep, so rough and broken, that in two days' space they who were sent before, though they were in light marching order, had much ado to march fifteen miles, when they lodged and rested.' An ordinary day's march for an army fully equipped was twenty miles. Note the position of 'aegre,' which really belongs to 'confecto,' and compare 'multitudo prope numero exercitum aequabat.'

l. 38. **quieverint.** Later in the book we find 'requietus,' refreshed. 'Requieverint' is Weissenborn's reading for 'quieverint,' which seems too Tacitean. Notice here, that by the ordinary law of sequence of tenses we should expect 'ponerent' instead of 'posuerint' after the historic tense 'fuit.' The rule is that, if the fact is to be brought out as a complete part of the history, the perfect is used. This construction is very much used by Cornelius Nepos. Compare 'Iphicrates fuit talis dux ut primis *compararetur*. Tantum valuit, ut multa in re militari meliora *fecerit*,' where both constructions are used.

l. 40. **hostium.** Not Perseus' camp, which was on the north of Olympus at Dium, but Hippias' detachment already mentioned as being near Ottolabus.

l. 43. **ut.** Depending on 'nuntium,' which can convey a message of 'petition' as well as 'statement.' 'Advising him to overtake them as fast as he could force his march.'

l. 45. **vicem.** 'On their account.' Cf. 'tuam vicem saepe doleo,' Cic. Fam. 12. 23. 3.

The messenger did not reach him till he had nearly finished his journey.

l. 47. **et ipsi.** 'Whereupon he took better heart also for his own affairs,' i.e. the safety of the first detachment made him think less of the 'itineris difficultas.'

l. 48. **coniunctisque . . . adclinata.** 'Joining his force to theirs he pitched his camp leaning along that side of the hill which, considering the nature of the ground, was most suitable.'

l. 50. **mille** in the nominative or accusative can be used as a substantive, but is in such a case followed by a verb in the plural. e.g. 'Mille passuum erant inter urbem castraque.' 'Erat' would be antiquated. 'Millia' is always substantival. In 'Omnes equites quindecim millia convenire iubet' the 'millia' is in apposition. After 'plus, amplius, minus,' an ellipse of 'quam' often occurs before numerals; 'paulo plus sexcenti ceciderunt'—'a little more than six hundred fell.'

l. 52. **subicitur.** Compare the effect produced on Hannibal's troops when they looked down on the plains of Lombardy. The view would command as far as Mt. Athos.

l. 54. **labor.** A nominative is often thus placed in a rapid description of events, with the omission of the verb to denote briefly a new point, e.g. 'Clamor inde concursusque mirantium.' 'No tongue is able to express what a toil they found in going down hill, owing to the constant falls of baggage-animals and packs.'

**descendentibus.** After a short skirmish with Perseus' lieutenant-general Hippias, Philippus had ascended the defiles of Olympus

with a view of forcing his way from Thessaly to Macedonia. If Perseus had had his wits about him, the whole Roman army might have been destroyed. But as he had no treasures in the mountain passes, he contented himself with listening to the cries of the combatants as he ranged with his cavalry upon the strand near Dium.

l. 56. **esse.** The use of this predicative infinitive often occurs in connexion with the omission of the verb 'sum' in a preceding sentence. Latin Grammar, § 91; both constructions leave out the expression of time, number, and person. Compare 'Facies totius negotii varia incerta; dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi,' Sallust, Iug. 51. 1.

l. 57. **Hostilem.** 'Troubled the line of march almost as much as the enemy could.' For 'elephanti' compare Livy xxi. 28.

l. 59. **stridore.** 'Trumpeting.'

l. 61. **sumpto.** 'Calculating the drop at an incline.'

**asseres.** 'In the lower ground beneath they set fast in the earth two long and strong posts distant from one another a little more than the breadth of the beast's body.'

l. 63. **transverso.** 'Resting a cross beam on these they then placed long rafters.' 'Asses' from 'assis (axis)' 'a plank.'

l. 67. **qua rupes.** 'Wherever the craggy ground was broken and uneven.'

**Solido.** Ablative. 'Each elephant stepped on firm ground on to the bridge.'

l. 68. **cuius.** Governed by 'extremum.' It is unusual to find a genitive of a pronoun depending on a neuter adjective.

l. 69. **procederet.** 'Before it could get as far as the end of it.' The subjunctive 'procederet' is due to the notion of purpose. Latin Grammar, § 211.

l. 72. **Ubi.** 'Again when they had reached the level plain of another such like bridge, they were carried down again by an exactly similar fall of this lower bridge to one below it.' 'Ubi,' 'ubi primum,' ut primum,' and 'quoties,' take the pluperfect subjunctive to express iteration in Livy, the pluperfect indicative in Cicero. Compare l. 58, where we have the indicative. Thus Livy has 'Id fetialis ubi dixisset, hastam in fines eorum mittebat,' i. 32. Cicero on the other hand says, 'Ubi pretio non aequitate iura descripserat, Veneri iam et Libero reliquum tempus deberi arbitrabatur,' Cic. Verr. v. 11. See Latin Grammar, § 211.

l. 75. **pedibus.** Compare the position of 'aegre,' l. 38.

l. 77. 'But got forward with all kind of pain and trouble, for the most part rolling over and over with their arms and what else they had to carry.'

l. 78. **infitiaretur.** See note on 'quieverint,' l. 38.

l. 81. **vix tandem**, &c., 'when they had only at length after much ado and beyond all hopes obtained standing space, they had no room to look about them and see how threatening the place was, hedged in as it was all round.'

'infensus' implies animosity, 'infestus' the direct charge (fero), full tilt against an enemy. We can easily see what a difference Philippus would have found, had his enemy been Pontius the Samnite instead of Perseus the Macedonian.

l. 84. **Lavanti.** 'The king was in his bath when the news came how the enemy were near at hand.' With 'nuntiatum,' understand 'fuisse.'

l. 85. **solio.** 'Bathing-tub.' So Lucretius vi. 801, 'solio ferventis aquäi.'

l. 86. **proripuit.** Poet. for 'se proripuit.' Cf. 'Aeneas, quo deinde ruis, quo proripis? inquit,' Virg. Aen. v. 741. So we use 'to tear along.' The idiom is helped here by the presence of 'se' in the same sentence.

**pavida.** So too Livy has 'fortia, praecipitia consilia.' What the imperia were, may be seen from l. 160. Livy xliv. c. 10. 2.

l. 87. **Pellam.** Capital of Macedonia since Philip's time, birthplace of Alexander. Cf. 'Unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis,' Juv. Sat. x. 168.

l. 88. **ut, quae ad Phacum** is Madvig's emendation for 'usque ad pathum.' Phacus was the citadel where the royal treasure and state prisoners were kept.

l. 88. **erat.** Indicative, inasmuch as the fact is introduced by Livy, not by Perseus.

l. 91. **aditus.** 'And by this means opened all the avenues of invasion,' i. e. by recalling his principal commanders from their troops.

**ab Dio.** Livy usually prefixes 'ab' to the names of towns to express removal from their neighbourhood; cf. his corresponding use of 'ad,' e. g. l. 166. 'Ad' is regularly used with the name of a town when it means 'to (or in) the neighbourhood of.' Cf. l. 228 'ad Bylazora.'

l. 93. **quae temeritas.** The relative is feminine (when we might have expected 'quod') by attraction to the gender of 'temeritas.' So 'eam . . . audaciam' in l. 95.

l. 94. **quod** with subjunctive, dependent on 'videri.' Translate 'what might have seemed rashness in that (as might be argued) he had gone so far.' 'Processisset' is suboblique.

l. 95. **Duos.** 'For the Romans had the choice of only two passes by which they would have been able to retreat; both of which were held,' &c.

l. 96. **possent** is conditional on 'tenebantur.'

**habebant** cannot be taken in the sense of 'now commanded,' for (i) 'tenebantur' is in the same time; (ii) 'habebant' would be 'obtinebant.'

l. 98. **quae utraque,** sc. Dium and Tempe.

l. 101. **ea,** sc. Tempe, governed by 'pervehendis.' Others understand 'via.'

l. 103. **Tempe.** Livy here describes strategically the defile which Greek poets never weary of singing, which indeed from its extraordinary beauty has given its name to all defiles. Whether we believe that Neptune struck the rock with his trident, to let the waters of the plains of Thessaly find a passage through the fissure; or that the giants in their war with the gods uprooted the mountain Ossa on the north to pile it on Pelion; or, finally, that the hero of the land, Peleus, was peacefully united to the goddess of the sea, Thetis, on a neighbouring mountain; in either case round this cut (Tempe) centres the main geological interest of the neighbourhood. It is a narrow rocky defile, five miles long, in which there is sometimes room only for the river Peneus and the caravan to travel side by side. The ledge of rock is only four feet in breadth in places, and has been furrowed by the wheels of military waggons, ever since Longinus, Julius Caesar's marshal, did for it what Napoleon did for the Simplon. Through here it was too that Pompey after Pharsalia rode rapidly from the field of battle; in this glen he checked his horse and quenched his thirst with water from the Peneus.

**etiamsi.** 'Even without any force of arms to make it actively dangerous.' In l. 108 it is called 'suapte natura infestus.'

l. 104. **transitu.** Supine in 'u,' or, in other words an ablative of fourth declension (of respect). See the Latin Primer, § 141.

**difficilis** agrees with 'saltus,' 'sunt' with 'Tempe,' a Greek plural noun.

l. 106. **despici.** 'A man can hardly look down but his eyes will swim and his brain reel.'

l. 110. **fuit.** 'Was at that time occupied.' The perf. participle used with 'sum' expresses that something was and is complete; with 'fui' that something was complete at some past time; e. g. 'leges latae sunt,' but 'promulgatae fuerunt.'

Even the voluntary retreat of Perseus had not rescued the consul from his painful position. He advanced, it is true, as far as the river Ascordus, but he was obliged after four days' march to turn back for want of provisions; and when the king suddenly returned, the Roman army would have been in great danger had not the impregnable Tempe surrendered at the right moment and so secured his communication with Thessaly. After this he felt strong enough to attack Heracleum.

l. 111. admoveret. Subjunctive, because the act of marching his men up was at that time only conceived by him. Cf. l. 69.

l. 112. **suaderent.** 'Oro,' 'suadeo,' 'hortor,' and the like can omit 'ut' before the verb of the thing asked: 'cogo' and 'impetro' cannot.

l. 114. **ad Elpeum.** See note on l. 217.

l. 115. **ab litore.** 'Off shore.'

l. 117. **coepti.** Latin Grammar, p. 189. The passive form is used when the accompanying infinitive is passive.

l. 119. **nondum.** 'Before this wasteful prodigality came into vogue of filling the circus with beasts fetched out of all nations.'

l. 120. **circum.** Acc. sing. of 'circus.' Down to the time of the Punic Wars the Roman sightseers were content with one public festival of four days every September. Since then the Megalensia, the games of Flora, of Ceres, of Apollo, of the Plebs, had all become annual. To these were added the extraordinary festivals, the domestic festivals, and instead of an occasional course or hunt in the arena, formal baitings of lions and panthers were introduced in 186 B.C. Human blood was first shed for sport in 264 B.C.

l. 122. **desultore.** Compare Homer's Iliad, xv. 679; a rider who leapt from one horse to another without stopping. 'For formerly when they ran but one course with the chariot and one on horseback, both races scarce occupied one full hour.'

l. 123. **Inter.** 'Among other feats exhibited.' Compare Virg. Aen. v. 576.

l. 125. **decurrentis.** As a military term, 'to advance, manœuvre or march past.' Compare Livy xl. 6. 'Ex parte . . . ex parte,' 'partly . . . partly.'

l. 126. **elegantioris.** 'More showy than soldier-like,' i.e. rather an exercise in a school of arms than in a camp.

**propior.** 'A nearer approach to.' 'Propior' governs the accusative 'usum.'

l. 128. **densatis,** 'Close-locked.'

l. 129. **magis.** Supply 'submissis.' 'Still more so.'

l. 130. **fastigatam.** 'They formed a "tortoise" sloping to a point like the roof of houses.' The regular ornamented 'fastigia' were peculiar to temples, till Caesar obtained the right of having one for his house by decree of the senate.

l. 131. **Hinc.** 'Fetching their run fifty feet backward from thence.'

l. 133. **comminati inter se.** 'Challenging one another.'

l. 134. **evasissent.** 'Mounted.'

**nunc.** 'At other times maintaining combat with one another in the middle as on firm and steady ground.'

l. 135. **media.** Abl. fem. agreeing with 'testudine.'

l. 137. **Huic,** sc. 'testudini.' 'A tortoise like this,' &c.

l. 138. **super stantes.** If these are taken as two words, translate, 'When the armed men had taken their place above the standing rank of the squares,' i. e. at the edge nearest the walls. If 'superstantes' is read, translate, 'When those standing above in arms had approached the walls,' &c. 'Supersto' is used absolutely in Livy x. 5.

**fastigio altitudinis.** 'Highest point.'

l. 139. **duorum signorum milites.** The company of soldiers belonging to one signum was called a manipulus, since the 'signum' was only a handful of straw.

l. 141. **extremi.** The last ones, i. e. 'Those only who were on the edges either in front or on the flanks.'

l. 144. **testudini.** 'The darts which lighted on the tortoise went gliding harmlessly right down the slippery decline like rain water (on a roof).'

l. 145. Some decisive step was necessary now. The Greeks seeing the Romans at their highest point of glory expected every year that they had gone far enough to provoke the jealousy of the gods, and, like their own states in Greece, would fall. The Rhodians began to assert their independence. Antiochus availed himself of the opportunity to seize Egypt. Even the faithful Eumenes' loyalty was supposed to be wavering. If the republic could not find some year-officer more successful than Philippus, their system stood condemned.

l. 150. **prospectos . . . habere.** 'Had procured.' A circumlocution, meaning little more than 'prospexisse,' like ἔχειν in Greek with the active participle. Compare 'innumerabilia quae collecta habent Stoici.'

l. 151. **ut.** 'On condition that.'

l. 158. **locavit.** 'Contracted for the supply of.'

## II. A FEW TRAITS OF KING PERSEUS. B.C. 169.

l. 161. **mallet.** 'Would have preferred.' Others read 'malle,' an infinitive used predicatively. But compare 'Alias si Alexander gentes adiunxisset, impedimentum magis quam auxilium traheret,' where the imperfect is used to express a continuing state now no longer possible.

**obtemperatum esse.** Impersonal. 'That his commands had not been obeyed.' This refers to l. 87.

l. 162. **cum.** Purely temporal: hence the indicative 'iusserat.' In this sense 'cum' is generally preceded by 'tum.' Latin Grammar, § 212.

l. 164. **id ipsum,** like 'id quod,' usually in apposition to a clause; here, to a verbal notion, such as 'ut paenitentia regis animum subiret' contained in the word 'paenitentiae.' Translate, 'Leaving the king some chance of altering his mind, as in fact it fell out.'

l. 167. **visus . . . esse.** i.e. to an imaginary onlooker; almost equivalent to 'it might have been supposed that his fault was such as could be mended.'

l. 168. **Tantusque**, 'and yet such . . .'

l. 169. **urinatores**, 'divers.'

**iusserit.** Cf. l. 38.

l. 172. **dum**, 'whilst,' takes the present, although the action is past and the past tense used in the leading proposition, unless the action of the two clauses is exactly contemporaneous. The mood is indicative, even in oblique narration. See, however, note on l. 394.

**haec.** The appointment and speech of Paulus. See l. 252.

**illud**, explained next line by the 'ut' clause. Translate, 'Could not make up his mind to go through with what he had taken in hand, viz. to secure the alliance of Gentius.'

l. 174. **Gentius** was king of Upper Albania with Scutari for capital. If Perseus had made a hearty alliance with him, and had sent the Bastarnae to make an inroad on Italy, the Romans would have found his schemes very different to deal with.

l. 178. **ita ut**, 'on condition that.' Compare for this use 'Mortem ita laudat ut fugere vitam vetet,' 'with the proviso that.' Cic. Scaur. 2.

l. 181. **tum demum.** 'Then and not before.'

l. 182. **Duorum** refers to Perseus and Gentius.

l. 183. **posse** depends on the idea of statement to be found in the word 'mandatum,' or else (like 'videri' in l. 403) represents concisely the conviction of Perseus.

The Rhodians had unfortunately for themselves attempted to mediate between the Romans and Macedonians. The war disturbed their commerce, and they did not by any means wish to see the Romans victorious, as their independence was owing to the balance of power between the two. So, forgetting the enormous disproportion between the power of the Romans and their own, they came forward impetuously and offered to mediate with Philip in favour of the Romans. Their language was just as offensive to the Romans as a proposal from Holland to Germany might have been during the late war, offering to get the French to make peace.

**Adiunctam civitatem.** Translate, 'The alliance of a state.' Cf. l. 5.

l. 187. **subicere.** 'Prompt, suggest.' Compare 'Si meministi id quod olim dictum est subice,' Ter. Ph. ii. 3, 40. 'Poterat,' 'was calculated to.'

l. 188. **inimica.** The adjective 'inimica' has here a substantival character and means 'natural opposites.' See l. 10.

l. 189. **populum**, subject; 'singulos,' object. Note how ambiguity

arises from a subject and object in the accusative with the same infinitive. See Potts' Hints, p. 38, and compare the oracular answer 'Aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse.' The ambiguity is avoided by an ablative and a passive verb.

l. 190. **patrem**, Philip.

l. 193. **Prusiam**, king of Bithynia.

l. 194. **Asiam.** Here used for North Asia Minor, the kingdom of Pergamus.

l. 195. **liberandi.** In all cases, except after a preposition, the choice between the gerund and its governed accusative or the gerundive attraction seems determined by sound and clearness of sense, at the choice of the writer. Cicero and Caesar generally prefer the gerundive.

**suam.** Notice how 'suum' (l. 191), 'suam' (l. 195) and 'secum' (l. 199) illustrate the use of the reflexives. Latin Grammar, p. 489.

l. 196. **fecerint.** Note the transition from the historic construction to the primary. It has the same effect as the historic present in direct speech.

l. 197. **Antiochum . . . arceri.** Translate, 'Even now Antiochus, conqueror though he be, is kept off Egypt, which ought to be the recompense of his war.' The Rhodian fleet had but lately escorted the Syrian bride of Perseus, daughter of King Antiochus, to Macedon. But those simple politicians, who hope to gain diplomatic vantage by matrimonial means, were no more successful then than they are now. The argument 'natura inimica,' &c., was of more avail than twenty marriages. The Antiochus referred to is Antiochus Epiphanes, who had just begun to besiege Alexandria in 168 B.C., when the Romans bade him desist. We hear of him in the Maccabees as a wicked root, son of Antiochus the king, who had been a hostage at Rome.

l. 202. **pecuniae.** Eumenes had demanded 1000 talents as the price of neutrality, 1500 as the price of procuring peace with the Romans.

l. 203. **utique.** 'Anyhow.' For this use of 'que' compare 'ubique, quandoque.'

**alteram . . . impensam.** 'One of the two sums named, said he, was a base consideration between princes of so great a name, unfitting the giver and still more the receiver; however, for the hope of peace he did not refuse some outlay.' 'Alteram' is here contrasted with the sum to be paid 'in spem pacis.'

l. 207. **Ea insula.** Note the position of the subject as referring to an object in the preceding sentence. Translate, 'This island being,' &c. The island is in the Aegean, opposite the mouth of the Hebrus, and was the seat of the worship of the Cabiri.

l. 208. **videre.** The historic infinitive is not only used where actions and emotions follow in rapid succession, but where a state of things has

to be described which has suddenly commenced. Translate, 'Eumenes soon saw,' &c.

l. 209. **id agere ut**, 'his main object was to.'

**praesentem**, 'in ready money.'

l. 210. **captati**. Middle use. 'After vainly trying to overreach one another.'

**movere**, third plural perfect. 'They gained nothing but discredit.'

l. 213. **Veniebant**, sc. 'Galli.' Translate, 'These latter were on their way to the number of,' &c.

l. 214. **ipsorum . . . equis**, 'Unmounted even, able to keep pace with horses.' Compare Sil. It. iv. 374, 'Iunxere gradus.' So too Tacitus says of the Germans, 'Apta et congruens ad equestrem pugnam velocitas equitum.' The present participle is here used to express a continuous office.

l. 215. **capientium**, 'mounting.'

l. 216. **aureos**. Philippean staters, first coined by Philip the Great, equal to £1 3*s*. 6*d*., current in Greece very recently.

l. 217. **ab**, followed by 'ex.' So we have 'in legiones in Macedoniam venit.' But in English we make the second preposition adjectival. Translate, 'From the camp on the Elpeus,' where 'on the Elpeus' is adjective to 'camp,' not dependent on the verb. Cf. l. 114.

l. 220. **ut commeatus expedirent**, oblique petition depending on 'denuntiaret.'

l. 221. **ut copia esset**, final.

**phaleras**, 'Trappings.'

**sagula**, cloaks worn in war instead of the toga.

l. 222. **parvum**. So too 'exiguum spatii,' Liv. xxii. 24; 'campi,' xxvii. 27; 'temporis,' xl. 28. Lucan has 'parvum sanguinis,' Livy 'parvo plures,' where 'paulo' would be more usual.

l. 223. **divideret**, subjunctive of purpose.

**multitudinem** opposed to 'paucos.' He supposed all the rest of the host could be drawn on by bare hope.

l. 224. **Axii**, now the Wardar. This river drains Paeonia and Eastern Macedonia, and empties itself into the 'Sinus Thermaicus' (Gulf of Salonica).

l. 228. **ad**. Cf. l. 91.

**Bylazora**. On the Wardar, higher up than Almana. Paeonia was the northern province of Macedonia, occupied by Thracians.

l. 231. **per quantam . . . ituri**. This is Madvig's emendation for 'per viam quantam inventuri,' as Weissenborn has it. Madvig objects to 'per viam' being outside the interrogative sentence. But the whole force of the courtier's remarks lay in what they would find 'by the way.' 'Per viam' would so be opposed to 'advenientes,' and the emphasis would justify the exceptional position. Cf. 'ea omnia,' l. 8.

l. 234. **quidem**, $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu$ in Greek. Translate, 'As for that,' say they, 'we shall take knowledge thereof personally when we are arrived, but now for this time have you brought with you in ready money according to bargain what is to be divided,' &c.

l. 236. **ecquid**, 'Whether.' So Hor. Ep. i. xviii. 82, 'Ecquid ad te post paullo ventura pericula sentis?'

l. 238. **abi renuntia ergo.** Madvig would read 'abire nuntiareque iubet,' objecting to (1) the position of 'ergo,' (2) the tense of 'accepissent,' where we should expect 'acceperint' or 'acceperimus.' But against (1) compare Plautus 'tene me, amplectere ergo.' It is to be confessed, however, that 'accessissent' can only be explained by a mixture of constructions between the direct 'abi inquit' and 'abire iussit.'

## III. L. AEMILIUS PAULUS. B.C. 169.

Every Roman citizen, besides having the name of his gens, which generally terminated in '-ius,' had a praenomen peculiar to him as an individual. Of these praenomina there were about thirty. In addition to these two names, those families which had specially distinguished themselves often took a cognomen from some remarkable event in the life of the founder of the branch of the gens to which they belonged, e.g. Brutus, Cato, Naso, Torquatus. Many Romans had a second cognomen or agnomen, which did not, like the cognomen, descend, given as an honorary distinction, e.g. Macedonicus, Asiaticus, Africanus. The Aemilia gens had many familiae, e.g. Scauri, Regilli, Pauli, Lepidi. So our Howard clan or gens may be said to be divided into the families of Norfolk, Carlisle, Suffolk, Wicklow, and others equally old and less noble.

l. 241. **in exitu**, 'Approaching its close.' Servilius had been Philippus' home colleague for this year.

l. 243. **crearent**, deliberative subjunctive. 'Creare' is properly said of the outgoing consul.

l. 244. **ut**, commonly and more idiomatically 'quo' is used with comparatives in final sentences.

l. 245. **placuit**, sc. 'senatui.' 'It was resolved.'

l. 247. **ut iam** takes up the previous 'ut' in line 246. Translate, 'That as soon as it was known which consul had drawn Macedonia, they might then at once,' &c. But possibly the second 'ut' ought to be left out, as (1) 'iam inde' ought to come immediately after the temporal clause; (2) 'sciretur' may possibly have given rise to the second 'ut.'

l. 249. **Latinas**, sc. 'ferias.' It was a great engine in the hands of

the consuls to be able to fix this great festival of the Latin alliance so as best to suit political exigencies.

l. 250. **primo quoque tempore.** Translate, 'On the earliest day possible.'

**possent, inissent.** Subjunctives representing the 'poterunt' and 'inierint' of the resolution ('placuit').

l. 253. **duas iurisdictiones.** It was part of the Roman policy with a view to keep up the importance of the public magistracies to add to the number as little as possible. The most urgent cases of necessity were barely met by the division of the judicial functions at one time exercised by a single praetor between two judges, one of whom judged the lawsuits between Roman burgesses, the other those between non-burgesses or between burgess and non-burgess. This division took place in 243 B.C., and there were nominated afterwards four auxiliary consuls for the four transmarine provinces, Sicily, Sardinia (227 B.C.), and the two Spains (197 B.C.).

**in urbe,** 'urbanus' would be more usual. Greek, having the article, employs this idiom, where Latin uses an adjective or relative clause. Cf. however 'servus a manu,' 'a secretary'; 'Magnetes a Sipylo' (Tacitus), &c. Cf. l. 259 'in Macedonia,' which, however, is perhaps preferably to be regarded as part of the relative clause.

l. 254. **provinciae** originally denoted not a definite space assigned as a district to a standing magistrate, but simply the functions prescribed for the particular magistrate by decree. The acquisition of Corsica and Sicily introduced a new kind of administration. Hitherto the two chief magistrates or consuls had no legal limit to their field of action; now there was a special auxiliary consul appointed for each transmarine division or provincia as it was called.

l. 255. **Aemilio.** L. Aemilius Paulus, son of the hero of Cannae, had been consul in 181 B.C., and had commanded as praetor against the Lusitani in Spain.

**Licinio.** C. Licinius Crassus.

l. 256. **sortito.** 'Now that I have drawn by lot.' What Aemilius means is that they are more pleased at his drawing Macedonia as his province by lot than they were at his being elected consul; the reason being partly that he was eminently suited for the task and partly that the appointment was beyond their own control. 'Deos quoque.' Providence as well approved of his appointment and had influenced the lot.

l. 258. **sum.** So Madvig for 'essem.' And rightly: for 'cum' with the subjunctive denotes the succession of events; with the indicative it is referred to a certain time.

l. 261. **Deos . . . esse.** 'I have good hope that, as the gods . . . so they will be present with me in performing the service.'

l. 262. When **spero** signifies hope or belief as to the present, it follows that it need not have a future infinitive with it.

**adfuturos.** Compare 'Adsis, O Tegeaee, favens,' Virg. Georg. i. 18.

l. 263. **ominari.** Translate, 'In these things I am led partly by presentiment, partly by hope,' &c. Compare 'naves velut ominatae,' Liv. xxix. 3.

**illud,** as usual, refers to what follows, cf. l. 172.

l. 265. **ne . . . conceperitis,** 'That you shall not have conceived.' In Latin the future exact of the conjunctive so resembles the perfect, that the past only is noticed in the action, and the futurity is left to be ascertained by the leading proposition. Compare 'Facile egestatem se laturum putat si hac suspicione *sit* liberatus.' Cic. Rosc. 128.

l. 266. **et . . . et.** 'Both . . . and.'

l. 267. **placet,** sc. 'senatui,' as opposed to 'ego.'

**in mora.** Compare 'ne in mora illi sis,' 'Do not hinder him.'

l. 269. **gesturus esset.** Latin Grammar, p. 482. The true apodosis is a suppressed 'present unfulfilled' conjunctive (pararet).

l. 271. **credatis rogo** = 'rogo ut credatis.'

**alatis.** Some read 'ne' omitting 'rogo,' instead of 'neve.' But it is most unusual for the second person of the present conjunctive to be used with 'ne' prohibitive, except when addressed to an assumed subject. Thus 'ne quaeras' should mean 'One should not inquire'; 'tu ne quaesieris, 'Do not you inquire.' In Hor. Od. i. 33. 1, 'Albi, ne doleas,' it may be understood as meaning 'to prevent your grieving (consider how . . .),' and so in other passages.

For **alo** used in the sense of promoting rumours, compare Livy xxviii. 24, 'Insita hominibus libido alendi de industria rumores.' So too Virg. Aen. iv. 2, of Dido in love, 'Vulnus alit venis.'

l. 272. **nunc quidem . . . possit.** 'Nowadays verily there is none that sets so little store by common report as not to be capable of being demoralized thereby.' Notice 'cuius non.' 'Quin' is rarely used as containing any case of the relative except nominative or ablative. Thus 'nego in Sicilia ullam fuisse picturam quin Verres conquisiverit' (Cic. Verr. iv. 1), where 'quin' stands for 'quam non,' is exceptional.

l. 273. **debilitari.** 'debilis' = 'de-habilis.'

l. 274. **circulis.** 'Chance gatherings,' as at cafés, in the streets round newsvendors or popular singers, at barbers' shops, &c.

**si dis placet.** 'Please the gods, forsooth, good gracious, if you please.' Compare Cic. de Or. iii. 24, 'Etiam Latini, si dis placet, dicendi magistri exstiterunt.' See Latin Grammar, § 220.

l. 275. **conviviis.** Compare 'In conviviis rodunt, in circulis vellicant' (Cic. Balb. 26).

l. 276. **sciant.** Understand 'qui.' The rest of the sentences are dependent interrogatives after 'sciant.'

l. 279. **quiesse.** The perfect infinitive often stands with 'satis est,' 'pigebit,' 'melius est,' to signify what is the result of the completion of the action expressed by the infinitive. Translate, 'It is better to have kept quiet.'

l. 280. **quidquid.** The antithetic form of the sentence ('nec, quid . . . sed, quidquid') shows that the antecedent to 'quidquid' forms a cognate accusative to 'accusant.'

l. 281. **veluti dicta die.** 'Almost as if he were on his trial.'

l. 286. **vanitatem.** 'Thoughtlessness,' 'lightheartedness.'

l. 288. **immo,** 'nay rather.' Literally adverb from 'imus,' 'On the reverse side.'

l. 294. **navigio.** So we say 'to be in the same boat.'

l. 296. **posse.** So Madvig. But in Caesar, B. G. ii. 30, we have 'turrim se conlocare confiderent'; and B. C. iii. 8, 'Reliquos detinere sperat,' where 'posse' seems equally desirable.

l. 300. **e terra ne gubernaverit.** 'Let him not play the pilot from the shore,' an allusion to 'eodem navigio' above. We have 'ne deneget,' present conjunctive, above, but the perfect is a more usual form of forbidding in the third person as well as in the second.

**Sermonum satis.** 'Matter enough for gossip.'

l. 301. **iis,** i.e. 'sermonibus.' Translate, 'Let him confine his talk to that.' Others read 'is' opposed to 'ipsa urbs.'

## IV. PAULUS' MILITARY REFORMS. B.C. 169.

Lucius Aemilius Paulus was son of the Paulus who fell at Cannae, a man of ancient lineage, but of humble means, and therefore, Mommsen remarks, less successful in the comitia than on the battle-field. He had already distinguished himself in Spain and in Liguria. Sixty years had not impaired his vigour, and he was as incorruptible as he was fond of art, not, like the new school of Romans at that time, rendered covetous by culture.

l. 304. **putearios.** 'Well-diggers.'

l. 306. **fodere.** Here used absolutely. Translate, 'To begin digging.'

**ingentis altitudinis montes.** 'The great height of the hills put him in good hope.' Olympus was at this time covered with thick vegetation. So Aemilius felt certain that the springs of water from the mountains must be copious if only they could be found. He begins, therefore, at the sea, and works up.

l. 307. **evergerent**, 'Send forth.' This transitive use of 'evergo' is unique: so Madvig suggests 'erigerent' or 'egererent.' The force of the subjunctive is, 'Because, as he noticed,' &c.

l. 308. **venae . . . miscerentur.** Translate, 'Whose veins drained off into the sea, and so got mixed with the sea water.'

l. 309. **scaturiges.** 'Gushing springs.' Der. 'scaturio,' 'to gush,' which, like 'ligurio,' has the 'u' long, and is therefore not to be confounded with the desideratives which, though derived from the future participles, make the 'u' short. These are rather derived from some nouns formed like 'tellus, -ūris.'

l. 310. **liquidam.** 'Transparent.' Opposed to 'turbidae.' So 'aere lapsa quieto radit iter liquidum,' Virg. Aen. v. 217.

l. 312. **quoque.** 'In addition to the popularity of his name.'

l. 315. **quod fieret.** Not, as some editors take it, subject of 'pronuntiaretur,' which would require 'quid,' unless it meant 'what was going on,' which is not the sense. This is the equivalent in oblique narration of 'quod fit.' 'As was the existing custom.'

l. 316. **exaudire.** The infinitive represents in oblique narration the indicative of the preamble to 'placere igitur.' 'Pronuntiasset' in l. 339 makes the construction evident.

**incerto . . . facere.** 'So receiving an uncertain order, some adding of themselves do more than what is commanded, others less.' Notice here the transition from the historic to the primary construction. 'Fieret' is historic; 'imperatum sit' and the rest of the verbs are primary.

l. 319. **tribunum militum.** There were six in a legion, whose duties were to keep order in the camp and generally superintend the legionaries. They commanded in turn as colonels of the legion.

l. 320. **primo pilo.** 'The first centurion.' He had the care of the eagle and the right of attending the councils of the general. Every centuria (varying from 50 to 100 men) had two centurions, a 'centurio' and an 'optio' or lieutenant, who was chosen by the centurion.

'**secretum.**' 'Without publishing it.'

l. 322. '**novissimum agmen.**' 'Rear.'

l. 324. **etiam** takes up 'primum,' l. 313. Translate, 'Moreover he brought in a new rule, and ordained,' &c.

l. 325. **enim.** 'For he said that a sentry did not,' &c. Probably in the eagerness to fight which Hostilius' and Philippus' inaction had caused, the outposts had been trying to bring on a general engagement.

l. 328. **erecto.** 'Set on end.' The scutum was four feet long.

**stare.** Describes the existing objectionable practice, like 'exaudire,' 'facere,' 'oriri' above, and 'perstabant' 'and 'vexabant' below.

**galeatos.** 'With their helmets on.'

l. 329. **sopitos stare.** 'Take a nap standing.'

l. 330. **ut . . . provideant.** 'So that owing to the glitter of their armour they were seen by the enemy at a considerable distance, while they themselves kept no guard at all.'

l. 332. **stationum.** 'Pickets.' The 'vigiles' were only a few men, generally kept for night-service.

l. 333. **perstabant**, i.e. 'before his time.'

l. 334. **aestivis.** This was the beginning of spring: so Aemilius was organizing thoroughly with a view to the future.

**adsiduo.** So Lucretius, 'solibus adsiduis.' 'Adsiduus' was used technically of a burgess permanently settled on the soil. Compare the use of the word 'locuples' as opposed to 'proletarius.' In translation break up this sentence, 'Both horse and man often became so much fatigued that the enemy, being fresh to the attack, often gave them much trouble in spite of a disparity of force.'

l. 337. **meridiem**, i.e. 'medius dies.' Compare for the change from 'd' to 'r,' 'arcesso,' 'audio' ('auris'), 'Digentia' ('Licenza'), 'Ulysses' ('Odusseus'), &c. For the use of 'ad' compare 'ad lucem,' 'at daybreak'; 'ad postremum,' 'at last.' This is specially the construction for time fixed beforehand.

**decedi.** Impers. infin. pass. Compare the common use of 'iri' with the supine for the future infinitive passive.

l. 340. **urbanae.** 'Made in the city.' See l. 253.

**convenientem.** 'Resembling.'

l. 343. **advocarit.** 'Advocaverit' is the more usual form. This word was technically used of a man called in to help to plead a case.

**sint.** See note on l. 265.

l. 344. **iactare**, i.e. 'debere.'

l. 345. **pernicissimum.** ('per-nitor') 'nimble.' 'Apta,' 'In good condition.'

l. 347. **cetera scire . . . esse.** 'He should understand that in all other respects his gods and his general were responsible for his welfare.' Cf. 'sciat,' l. 302.

l. 349. **circumagatur.** 'Is carried away.' Compare 'alieni momentis animi circumagitur,' Liv. xxxix. 5.

Note **ibi**, the antecedent to 'in quo exercitu.'

l. 350. **bene gerendae rei.** 'Of acting to best advantage.'

l. 354. 'Ab.' 'After.'

l. 357. **cum.** See note on l. 2.

l. 358. **rerum . . . erat.** 'The practical result was immediate.' 'Rerum' is opposed to 'sermonibus.'

l. 359. **videres.** 'You would have seen,' i.e. if you had been there. This construction, corresponding to the Greek imperfect, is used com-

monly of present time, but also of past time, especially with reference to habit. It implies that the supposition (protasis) is imaginary, and generally that the conclusion or apodosis is likewise, though this does not logically follow.

l. 359. **alii . . . bucculasque.** Translate, 'Some fell to sharpening their swords, others furbished their helmets and beavers.' I have omitted 'scutorum,' as I cannot find that the 'buccula,' which means the mouth-piece of the helmet, is ever used of the shield.

l. 360. **loricas.** 'Cuirass.' 'Tergere,' 'Scour.'

l. 363. **sciret** is inserted by Madvig, who contends (1) that 'qui' is not for 'quis'; (2) that 'cerneret' cannot be used for 'intelligeret,' to express a conclusion formed from objects seen. See note on l. 359, and note that 'sciret' is doing double duty as consecutive subjunctive and conditional apodosis, which is impossible with the imperfect, but not the pluperfect. See note on l. 443.

l. 365. **finituros.** For those who died would finish the war as far as they were concerned. The subject is not expressed; a construction which the learner should not imitate.

## V. THE CAMPAIGN. B.C. 169.

No sooner had the new general arrived in the camp at Heracleum than he gave orders for the ill-guarded pass at Pythoum to be surprised by Publius Nasica. Nasica, crossing one of the highest peaks of Mount Olympus, and taking the Macedonians in the rear, had compelled them to leave the Cambunian mountains and retire to Pydna. See Map. Perseus was still supported by the Illyrians, and, if either he or Gentius had been an able general, Nasica and his 8,000 men must have been cut to pieces. The heights over which they passed must have been insurmountable in the face of a vigorous foe.

l. 366. **solstitium.** Used of the summer solstice; 'bruma' ('brevissima') of the winter. Translate, 'After the passing of the summer solstice.'

l. 369. **aestum.** 'It was clear that by high noon the heat would aggravate both the one and the other,' i.e. 'lassitudo' and 'sitis.'

l. 371. **utcumque,** 'under any conditions.'

l. 376. **Ibi.** 'On the spot.' 'Quantum,' cogn. acc. after 'incresceret'; supply 'tanto' as antecedent. 'Incresceret,' subj. because the increase is put indefinitely.

l. 379. **metarentur.** 'To select a situation for the fore-front of the camp.' This was done by the tribunes and centurions sent in advance for that purpose. They began by placing a white flag for the

praetorium. From this they measured the various distances allowed for the streets of the camp.

l. 379. **inperat, metarentur.** A historic present can have either primary or historic sequence, the latter being the prevailing idiom with Cicero. Latin Grammar, p. 483.

l. 383. **coegisset.** Virtually suboblique. See Latin Grammar, § 191. Cp. 'Laudat Africanum Panaetius, quod fuerit abstinens,' Cic. Off. 2. 22, 76.

l. 384. **adprobantes.** Not like Σαῦλος ἦν συνευδοκῶν (Acts viii. 1): here the verb and participle express two ideas. 'The lieutenants were with,' &c., 'and they had all been consenting.'

l. 385. **cum.** Here 'cum' is purely temporal. Compare 'Aliud est dolere, aliud laborare. . . . cum varices secabantur C. Mario, dolebat, cum aestu magno ducebat agmen, laborabat,' Cic. Tusc. Disp. ii. 15, where 'secarentur . . . duceret' would have been used with a half causal, half temporal, meaning. See 'silerent,' l. 387, where 'cum' means 'seeing that.' Attalus was brother of Eumenes, and succeeded him afterwards in the kingdom of Pergamus.

l. 389. One would prefer 'e manibus,' but the preposition is often omitted where an expression is used metaphorically. Translate, 'That he should not, by declining fight, let slip from his hands an enemy who had beguiled other generals before him.'

**Vereri.** Note the sudden passage from oblique petition to oblique statement. 'He was afraid, he said.'

l. 391. **intima.** 'Heart, centre.' His first change had been from the frontier to Pydna.

**aestasque.** Note the 'que' of immediate result.

**ducibus.** Dative of 'recipient.' 'As the previous generals had found to their loss.'

l. 394. **habeat.** 'Dum,' 'whilst,' is often constructed with the present indicative in Oratio Obliqua. But this is by no means invariable. Cp. Livy xlii. 50, 'Dum integrae res sint, Persea debere.' See l. 172.

l. 395. **libera.** So we say 'frank.'

l. 396. **istum** as usual means 'that of yours.' Latin Grammar, p. 283.

l. 398. **Multis.** Emphatic. 'It was not till after many,' &c.

l. 399. **est.** So Madvig reads for 'sit,' which he affirms would mean that they were not standing in order of battle. That is to say, 'est' implies that 'stantibus' is equivalent to 'cum stamus,' 'sit' would imply that it meant 'si stemus.' The present is the proper tense also in 'longum est,' 'satius est,' &c. The expression here is elliptical for 'operae pretium est.'

l. 400. **quiesse.** See note on l. 279. The perfect refers to what will follow the completion of the action.'

l. 401. **alias.** Adv., like 'foras.' 'At another time.' 'Reposcito.' The so-called future imperative, specially employed in laws.

l. 402. **eris** implies a conviction that the command will be complied with. 'Vetus,' in the sense of experienced, as here, more often has a genitive dependent on it.

l. 403. **videre.** Note the abrupt transition to the oblique, no indication being given by any word except 'sibi' that the ideas of Nasica are being introduced. Translate, 'The young man was silent, from a conviction doubtless,' &c.

l. 405. **metata.** Compare note to l. 379.

l. 406. **triarios.** The whole infantry of the legion was drawn up in three lines. In the first were the 'hastati' or pikemen. These were the youngest of the soldiers. The second line was formed of the 'principes,' men of mature age, who anciently were in the front. In the third were the 'triarii,' so called from their position, who carried two long 'pilae' or javelins. The usual depth of each line was ten men. The divisions of the second line, equal to the extent of a 'manipulus,' were in general placed opposite the intervals of the first. The cavalry were divided into ten 'turmae' of thirty men.

**subducit.** Makes to withdraw from the rear into the camp.

l. 407. **stantibus.** 'Whilst the pikemen remained standing, in case the enemy should offer action.'

l. 412. **perducta.** 'Was carried through to the end.' 'Duco,' 'to trace.'

l. 413. **detrectatione.** 'Declining.'

l. 414. **contentus.** 'Contenting himself with the fact that they knew the enemy were responsible.'

l. 416. **Sulpicius Gallus.** The orator and great Greek scholar.

l. 420. The ancients had discovered by observation that eighteen years was the period of the relative movements of the earth, moon, and sun recurring.

l. 422. **Itaque . . . debere.** 'For just as, owing to the fixity of the seasons of the rising and going down of the sun and moon, they did not marvel at seeing the moon sometimes at the full, sometimes in the wane only with a tiny crescent, so neither should they interpret it as a miracle that she should be dark when hidden by the shadow of the earth.' Compare 'in superbiam, in deterius trahere.'

l. 426. **Nocte.** On September 4, or June 22 by the Julian Calendar.

l. 427. **edita.** 'Foretold.'

l. 430. **vates** is probably object of 'movit,' and not subject of some verb like 'cecinere.' It therefore perhaps includes the Roman 'vates' as opposed to 'militibus.'

l. 431. **suam.** 'Her full light.'

l. 434. **suorum** is here referred to 'regem' and 'consulem' respectively. As usual in cases where the pronouns are reflexive on the object, the object precedes the pronoun. Compare 'Caesarem sua natura mitiorem reddit.' 'Caesar's own character makes him milder;' and translate this similarly.

l. 435. **esset.** The ground for complaint is here obviously true, yet being quoted from the complainer's lips, is virtually suboblique. Latin Grammar, § 191.

**accusarent.** See note on l. 38.

**prompta.** 'Easy to produce.' For this use of the participle compare 'invictus.'

l. 436. **prior.** Here used adverbially in predicative construction, as frequent with adjectives of time and order. Latin Grammar, § 63. Translate, 'Had been the first to,' &c.

l. 437. **reduxisset.** See note on l. 435.

l. 438. **quo.** Adverb, here used for 'ut eo,' expressing consequence.

l. 439. **vel.** 'Even.'

**efficeret.** The subjunctive as the king's remark; if it were Livy's comment it would be indicative.

l. 440. **Consul.** Opposed to 'regi' before. 'The consul for his part.'

**ad id, quod.** 'In addition to the fact that he gave the appearance,' &c.

l. 441. **locum**: sc. nocte abeundi. 'Opportunity of stealing away by night, had he so wished.'

l. 443. **cum . . . vocavit.** Madvig quotes Livy xlii. 59, 'Cum regi, si adiuvissent, debellatum esset;' and x. 46, 'Cum, si spreta gloria fuisset, munus dari potuisset,' as proofs that Livy puts the hypothetical conjunctive after a conjunction already requiring the subjunctive. But in the two cases which he quotes, as here also, the indicative could stand, if 'cum' were omitted, 'debellatum erat, si adiuvissent,' 'munus dari potuerat ni gloria spreta fuisset,' would be good Latin. So too would 'exeundum fuerat, 'They ought to have gone out.' 'Fuisset' is subjunctive after 'cum,' 'although.' Translate, 'Although they ought to have gone out at daybreak, it was not till the third hour that he did anything, and then he only called a council of war.' See note to l. 363.

l. 445. **quod . . . esset.** The subjunctive because suboblique ('videbatur quibusdam').

l. 450. **denudavit.** 'Laid bare.'

l. 452. **carpere.** 'Carp at.' 'Absentem,' 'Behind his back.'

l. 455. **gravabor.** 'I will not stand too much on my dignity.'

**dilatae pugnae.** 'Of my delay of the fight.' Notice here, as often,

how the Latin language avoids the verbal substantive. So 'Labeo was charged with the maladministration of the province,' would be 'arguebatur male administratae provinciae.' l. 27, and l. 185.

l. 456. **tantum abest, ut.** The first 'ut' clause is subject to 'abest': the second is adverbial and consecutive. Translate, 'So far am I from repenting.' Yet, though in English we say 'I am far,' in Latin they say, 'my repenting is far,' hence 'abest.' In both languages we can omit the conjunction. 'So far from repenting, I believe.' The Latin in that case has the indicative, with 'vix' or 'etiam.' Cic. Brut. 80.

l. 457. **In qua . . . ne.** 'And lest any . . . in this.' Note the position of 'ne.'

l. 459. The use of **age** in the second person, with 'recognoscat' in the third, is scarcely more curious than the use of 'age' with the plural, e. g. 'age, considerate.' For this use of 'dum' compare 'mane dum,' 'stay a bit'; 'fac dum,' 'do now'; 'dudum, nedum, vixdum, interdum.'

l. 462. **vestrum.** Gen. plur., used in a partitive sense, originally gen. plur. of 'vester (vestrorum),' here of 'vos.'

l. 465. **ignavissimum quemque . . . scitis.** 'You know it is not the greatest cowards that are left in charge.'

l. 466. **fuerimus omnes.** Either 'grant that we (the three-fourths) were then the whole body,' or 'grant that our whole body was there' For the mood compare 'fecerit aliquid Philippus, quid Perseus meruit.'

l. 469. **summum.** Used adverbially. 'At the farthest.'

l. 471. **requietum.** See note to l. 38.

l. 478. **comparatus.** There seems to be no idea of matching in this word here. 'Comparo me ad iter, dux comparat milites,' are common expressions. Translate, 'In such condition.'

l. 479. **Quid, quod.** 'Moreover.'

l. 481. **nobis** opposed to 'hostes.' 'Whereas we should have been suddenly forced to change on the spot into fighting formation with all the attendant confusion, and to advance to the charge in imperfect order.'

l. 483. **At, hercule.** Not, as often, an imagined objection of an opponent, but an objection of the speaker. It sums up here the previous sentences; 'castra munita,' &c., is opposed to 'aciem quidem' and passes to another point, and asks which of two states of things would have been the case. 'Nostri' like 'nihil reliqui,' 'nothing of our own.' If we read 'habentes,' we must understand something like 'pugnavissemus,' helped out by 'pugnaremus.' The final answer to the alternative question appears in 'sine ulla sede,' l. 498. The text here is uncertain. It has been proposed to read 'habuissemus' for 'habentes.'

l. 491. **quod** with 'haberetur,' subjunctive. 'Because in their opinion.'

l. 495. **tempore suo.** 'Choosing their own time.'

l. 498. **Sine** contains the condition of which 'dimicassemus' is the apodosis. 'Had we had no fixed camp, we should have fought like vagabonds.'

l. 499. **quo.** Interrogative. 'In order to betake ourselves whither, if we won?'

l. 502. **interposita nocte.** 'In the interval of the night.'

**quantum** takes up 'quid.' 'How, and if &c., what a deal of labour,' &c.

l. 503. **exhauriendum erat.** For the indicative see Latin Grammar, p. 336 and p. 471.

l. 505. Note the cumbrous construction with 'fuisse,' and the future participle, where the Greeks would use the participle ἄν.

l. 507. **cum**, in past time, introduces an idea of causality, which requires the subjunctive, although in the very next line we have 'cum sumus,' where the 'cum' is just as temporal.

**in cervicibus.** 'At his throat.'

l. 508. **fallere.** 'Give the slip.'

l. 513. **hae** agrees with 'causae.'

l. 514. **enim** takes up 'hodiernum.' 'I say to-day, for.'

l. 518. **partim**, originally accusative of 'pars,' used adverbially, came eventually to be used as a synonym of 'alius' in any case. Hence it stands for 'aliis.' Compare 'bestiarum terrenae sunt aliae, partim aquatiles,' Cic. N. D. i. 37, where it is used for 'aliae.'

l. 519. **nequicquam.** 'To find fault to no purpose, with a matter which howsoever past could not now be recalled.'

For in eo cf. Cic. Fam. iii. 8. 4, 'Me exquisivisse aliquid in quo te offenderem.'

l. 529. **propius**, adjective, takes either accusative or dative.

l. 532. Marrucini and Peligni were Sabellian tribes, who had submitted to the Romans in the general peace of 304 B.C.

l. 533. **Sergius.** Grandfather of Catilina.

l. 535. Firmum (Picenum), Cremona and Placentia (near the Po), Aesernia (Samnium), were all colonies with Latin rights.

l. 537. **iumentum.** 'Pack-horse.'

l. 539. **genus.** Genitive singular, 'almost knee-deep.'

**tenus**, like 'penes' and 'instar,' is an accusative used adverbially, and contains the root of 'tendo.' It more often occurs with the ablative or genitive plural.

l. 541. **traherent.** 'While the Thracians began to drag the animal from the bed of the river to their own bank.'

## VI. THE BATTLE OF PYDNA. B.C. 168.

l. 547. **Movebat.** Invert this in translation. 'Men were stirred by reverence for,' &c. It is to be regretted that Livy's sketch of Aemilius here is partly lost to us. This is obviously only a fragment.

l. 548. **in parte praecipua.** 'Taking a more than ordinary share,' i.e. he was not content with 'pars virilis,' but wanted to do more than his proper share.

l. 549. **capessebat.** The suffix expresses eager action.

Perseus had drawn up his army behind Pydna, with a deep mountain torrent in front. Through the strip of coast-land a number of mountain streams flow down Olympus and its contiguous mountains, parallel to one another, into the sea. Behind each of these Perseus had made fortifications to resist the Romans, should they force Tempe. Publius Nasica had however driven him to abandon these and retreat to Pydna.

**Intervallum.** We know from other sources that the phalanges of the enemy had been much scattered previously by the flight of the Roman vanguard, whom they had pursued too eagerly. Livy omits all mention of this.

l. 550. **cetratos.** 'Peltasts.' The Phalanx was originally a compact parallelogram of fifty men abreast and sixteen deep. Before the time of Philip, however, it had become a general expression for any large body of Greek troops. In his time the corps, called Phalanx, consisted of 16,000 men, divided into four equal parts. When drawn up for battle it formed two grand divisions, each divided into two sections, with the worst troops in the centre sections.

l. 551. The position then was like this:

Macedonian Cetrati.
Roman Tergum legionis.
Roman Frons legionis.
Macedonian Clipeati or Phalanx.

This is evidently what Livy means to describe as the position. Whether in his desire to be vivid he has not overstated his case, and described Aemilius as exposing his troops to a double 'fire,' it is hard to say. Mommsen, after describing the retreat of the legions to a hill near the Roman camp, goes on to say, 'Here the fortune of the day changed. The uneven ground and the hurried pursuit had disordered the ranks of the phalanx; the Romans, in single cohorts, entered at every gap, and attacked it on the flanks and in the rear.' This is Plutarch's account (Vit. Aem. xx), who specially adds—*μὴ μίαν πρὸς ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεμιγμένας τὰς μάχας τίθεσθαι.*

l. 552. **habebat,** i.e. 'legio.' The legion entering at the gap between

the peltasts who were pursuing and the more dignified battalions behind had its back turned to the former and faced the latter.

l. 554. **In dextrum cornu**, sc. Romanum.

l. 556. **hinc.** 'It was from these, i.e. the squadrons of the allies, that the rout of the Macedonians first began.'

l. 557. **commenta**, 'contrivances.' The position of 'elephantos' shows that the leading of the elephants was the first thought of Aemilius, though the 'alae sociorum' were what did him most good. Livy therefore feels bound to notice their uselessness.

l. 558. **in verbis** μέν, **experiendo** δέ. 'Though when spoken of they have some show of force, yet in trial, when you want to act and not to discuss how to act,' &c.

l. 563. **in medio . . . inmissa.** 'On the centre the legion which had been directed to charge,' &c. See l. 553, and the note on l. 551, with Plutarch's words.

l. 565. **fluctuantem**, used proleptically.

l. 566. **confertae . . hastis.** 'So long as it keeps close and bristles with levelled spears.'

l. 569. **implicantur.** The 'phalangitae.'

l. 573. **data . . . essent.** Indefinite subjunctive. 'Whenever they saw a breach made, the Romans pushed forward their files.'

l. 574. **Qui si.** 'Whereas if.'

l. 577. **induissent se hastis.** 'They would have got completely entangled in pikes.'

l. 578. **Ceterum.** 'But.' 'Caedes' plural: Livy wishes to keep up the idea of 'multa passim proelia.'

l. 580. Perseus had announced his intention of returning to his capital victorious, or dead. A Macedonian king could hardly trust his people after failure. So he fled to Samothrace, accompanied by Cretans. The battle did not last an hour.

l. 581. Edessa was the earlier capital of Macedonia, Pella the later. This latter stood in a very inferior position, neither strongly posted nor healthy, being on low hills, at the edge of a marsh. Its nearness to the sea was probably its chief recommendation.

l. 584. **inmemores**, i. e. 'victores,' 'made them careless of pursuing the cavalry.'

l. 596. **Facile.** 'Without dispute.'

l. 599. Notice the various constructions of which 'milia' is capable: 'milia' with neuter, 'milia' with masculine, 'milia' as governed by ad, 'milia' as nominative. But in any case it is treated as a substantive and followed by a genitive of the things numbered.

l. 604. **forem**, for 'essem' without a participle is only used in conditional and final sentences. But in the compound tenses, 'amatus

forem,' &c., Sallust, Livy, and the poets use it exactly like 'essem.' Cicero never uses it in compound tenses.

l. 604. **nunc.** 'As it was.'

l. 605. **Romanis . . . sequendum.** 'Caused the Romans to be less keen in pursuit.' Compare, 'mora ad decernendum.' 'Locis ignotis' is ablative absolute, 'considering that the neighbourhood was strange.'

l. 607. **Q. Fabius** was the consul's own son. Both he and Scipio Africanus had been adopted into other families. Aemilius' two younger sons died within a few days of his triumph, and thus left him without an heir.

l. 608. **celeriter** is here equivalent to 'tanta festinatione,' and is used as antecedent to 'quanta.'

l. 609. **praeceptam.** 'Yet found that the joyous assurance of it had reached there before them.'

l. 611. **spectacula.** Concrete. The plural of an abstract singular is often concrete and vice versa. Hence possibly the singular verb with the neuter plural subject in Greek. 'An audible rumour spread over all the companies of spectators.'

l. 616. **nullus.** 'None was forthcoming.'

**tanquam.** Compare 'velut certo nuntio.' 'Although the triumphant feeling of certainty passed away, a presentiment of good luck kept its hold of the public mind.' For this whole description compare Virgil's beautiful description of Fama, Aen. iv. 173–190:—

'Tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri.'

l. 622. These 'ludi' were celebrated every year in the Circus Maximus in honour of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. They were also called Magni or Circenses. When all was ready the doors of the 'carceres' were flung open, and the chariots were formed abreast of the 'alba linea,' by men called 'moratores'; the signal for the start was given by the consul presiding, by letting fall a napkin or 'mappa.' 'Escendenti,' probably to the balcony above the 'carceres.'

l. 624. **diceret.** 'Said, as the report goes.'

l. 626. **foros.** 'Rows of seats.' Instead of summoning them to the senate house or to a temple they were assembled 'pro foris.'

l. 638. **nullo.** 'With none of his train to accompany him save that one whose share in his misfortunes was sure to make him a more pitiable object.' The Romans might not pity him, but they could not help pitying his son.

l. 642. **summoto.** 'After room had been made.' Impersonal. Compare 'Cui summovetur?' and 'Sederunt in tribunali: lictor apparuit; summoto inceperunt.' Livy xxviii. 27.

**praetorium.** 'Consul's pavilion.'

l. 643. Note 'progressus' coupled to the ablative absolute, and further

on Livy's wonderful manipulation of participles. 'And though he tried to throw himself at his feet, he lifted him up and would not suffer him once to touch his knees, but led him into the tent and caused him to sit right down face to face with those whom he had called in as his assessors.' The consul wished the king to see that he was not to be accused behind his back.

l. 647. **iniuria.** Did the Romans begin the wrong? is the first question of Paulus.

l. 648. **infesto.** 'With feelings so set against them as to hazard in one throw his life and kingdom.'

l. 651. **Si,** &c. 'If you had been but a young man when you succeeded to the throne, I should marvel the less that you had been so ignorant as not to know the full weight of the friendship or the enmity of the Roman people; as it is, surely it was a most mistaken policy to prefer,' &c. See the Introduction.

l. 656. **consilium.** In apposition with 'malle.'

l. 659. **tamen.** 'Well, however this hath fallen out, whether by the frailty of man, or by hap, or by destiny,' &c.

l. 668. **Is.** 'He is the true man, whose heart is neither puffed up by the breath of prosperity, nor crushed by adversity.'

# SENTENCES FOR TRANSLATION, FREELY ADAPTED FROM THE TEXT.

1. BEFORE the end of your career, you will doubtless recognize with what disapproval Providence views your whole conduct.

2. Next day they hurriedly pushed forward more than twenty miles, and surprised a small party of the natives, who were in occupation of some rising ground; whereupon they sent back word to the commander-in-chief that they were now in touch with the enemy.

3. The queen was on her throne, when a message came that the impatient Hippias had advanced so far that retreat was impossible, if the enemy had any inclination to prevent it.

4. The resemblance will be perfect, with the sole exception that the men in the front rank, to avoid exposing their faces, will not keep their shields in the air.

5. Recognizing that the critical moment of the campaign was come, I made up my mind that further delay would be dangerous, and decided on an exchange of hostages.

6. Meeting with no answer to his remarks, their headman cried out, 'Be off then, and tell your master that unless we see some of his gold, not one of us will stir a step farther.'

7. At every dinner-table and at every street-corner, if you please, they lay down the law as to the proper time for attacking or retreating.

8. It is said that he called a public meeting, and in an address conceived in the same spirit as his former speech, insisted that if a man were not specially consulted, he should not express any opinion.

9. As soon as the rank and file got an inkling of the turn that things were taking, some resented it greatly; while others, and they the greater number, openly expressed their delight at not being forced to fight in such an unprepared condition.

10. Accident, which plays a leading part in all human affairs, seems to have brought matters to a head in spite of the disinclination of both sides to appeal to arms.

11. The majority of such contrivances are very well in theory, but as a matter of fact when you come to the point they break down hopelessly.

12. The enemy's cavalry withdrew from the field in tolerably good order, because the conqueror's attention being mainly taken up with

the remaining squares, he quite lost sight of the importance of pursuing them.

13. The crowds flocking to the show were so enormous, that it would have been most difficult for us to get along, unless an obliging magistrate had sent some constables to clear the way for our party.

14. A postman, who professed to have come from the neighbouring town, is said to have delivered him two letters at my house on the 29th of February last year.

15. I am not one of those people who fancy that a politician is above criticism; on the contrary, I call a man self-opinionated rather than courageous who insists on acting altogether on his own responsibility.

16. As the island is a dependency of ours, I do not see that it matters much whether the taxes are received there or here; the main point is to get the money paid.

17. No doubt he would have been better pleased if his orders had not been so literally carried out, when he left instructions for his property to be thrown overboard.

18. They first went through some very charming manœuvres, and then they suddenly formed square in quite the old-fashioned style.

19. One thing I can promise you for certain, that I will strain every nerve so that you may not be disappointed in your expectation of me.

20. It is no trifling matter to attempt that sort of thing on a summer's day under a blazing sun, especially if you have your helmet on.

THE END.

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